FIDES-ANGLICANA.

OR, A

PLEA

FOR THE

PUBLICK-FAITH

Of theſe NATIONS,

Lately pawned, forfeited and violated by ſome of their former TRUSTEES, to the rendring it as infamous, as *FIDES-PUNICA* was heretofore.

It is humbly offered to conſideration, in a *Petitionary Remonſtrance* to all in Authority, on the behalf of many thouſands, to whom *Securities* were given upon the ſaid *Publick-Faith*; and was prepared to have been put forth during the ſitting of the laſt Parliament.

By the Author *GEORGE WITHER.*

It comprehends likewiſe, an *Expedient*, whereby the Honour of the *King* and *Nations* may be preſerved in redeeming the ſame, without oppreſſing *private perſons*, or overburthening the *Publick*: And thereto are added two or three Examplary *Narratives* out of *Antiquity*, evidencing that *Neglect of Juſtice is dangerous*; and that the freedom of expreſſion aſſumed by the Author, is neither needleſs in ſuch caſes, nor unjuſtifiable by warrantable *precedents*.

Veritas non quærit Angulos.

LONDON, Printed in the year *MDCLX.*

FIDES-ANGLICANA.

OR,

A *PLEA* by way of *Remonſtrance*, for the *Publick-Faith* of theſe *Britiſh Nations*, humbly offered to all in *Power* and *Authority*, joyntly and individually, by whatſoever *Title* or *Name* they are lawfully active; and to whom a care of preſerving the *Peace* and *Honour* of theſe *Kingdoms* doth appertain.

Pſalm 82. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, &6.

GOD ſtandeth in the Congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the Gods: How long will ye judge unjuſtly, and accept the perſons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherleſs, do juſtice to the afflicted, preſerve the poor and needy out of the hands of the ungodly, &c.

WHereas in the Hopes entertained rationally by this *Remonſtrant* and others, upon his Majeſties late voluntary and gracious condeſcentions (without any care taken for our *Indempnity*, at his Reſtauration, by the *Truſtees* of theſe *Nations*) they reſted thankfully therewith contented; being much

comforted in the Kings prudent and tender reſpect vouchſafed to their *ſad condition*; and have ever ſince, (though it be now about eight or nine Moneths) waited in a patient expectation of ſome timely ſettlement, according to his Royal *Declaration, Speeches*, References and Commiſſion; notwithſtanding many of them have in the mean time been almoſt quite deſtroyed in their *eſtates* and *credits*, and ſome utterly ruined by the impatience of their *Creditors*; by the violence of untimely *Intruders* upon their poſſeſſions; by vexatious ſuits commenced againſt them; and by paying great taxes and other duties, for thoſe Lands by them purchaſed, which are intruded upon contrary to an *Order of Parliament*, and other *Prohibitions*; as alſo, becauſe ſome of the ſaid *Purchaſers* have been ſo impoveriſhed by former Oppreſſions, that (to the Publick damage, as well as to their own) much of the ſaid Lands lyeth waſte, in regard they have neither wherewith to ſtock thoſe which came lately into poſſeſſion, nor means to demiſe them to Tenants, whileſt their *Titles* are diſparaged. Which with other deſtructive grievances daily multiplying, have conſtrained this *Remonſtrant* (who in his own perſon, is made ſenſible of other mens afflictions well near in every kind) both for preventing the utter undoing of himſelf with his Relations, and of many thouſands more, together with their *Creditors* and *Relations*, humbly to Remonſtrate as follows.

That the long delayed, and juſtly expected Relief of the ſaid Purchaſers and Lenders (of which this *Remonſtrant* is one) ſeems to him prolonged by the ſiniſter endeavours or neglects of ſome from whom they hoped better things, occaſioning no leſs diſhonour and hazard to the *King* and Nation, then injury to their patience, whoſe

whose dammages are multiplyed thereby: For instead of what was rationally hoped for, this *Remonstrant* and many more, are among other frequent upbraidings and provocations, jeered with this untimely and unsavoury caution, *Caveat emptor*; which hath obliquely, a worse reflection upon *Venders* then *Buyers* in their condition; implying rather *Caveant Venditores*, in regard it is a *Caveat* to be given before-hand; and to those only, who contract with persons justly suspected to be either *Cheaters* or *Beggars*, and ought not to be applyed to them who were Purchasers from *States* or *Parliaments*, who have engaged the *Publick Faith* of a whole *Nation* to confirm their *Sales* and *Securities*: For they should with reverence be confided in, by all under their *Authority*, lest such become guilty of exposing it to contempt; and therefore, the said *Purchasers* and *Lenders*, were not (till really damnified) to suspect or question, Whether the Grants and Securities to them offered, would be valid or invalid; or Whether the Estates exposed to sale by the *Parliament*, were justly or unjustly bargained and sold; because it was to be presumed that *States* and *Parliaments*, are not only at all times able to make good their *Bargains* and *Securities*, or to give full recompence to those who shall be thereby damnified, if it prove otherwise; but that (being thereto obliged both in honour and justice) they will also punctually perform the one or the other, without receding from their *Bargains*, or hagling like broken debtors: And therefore by one of these wayes, the said *Purchasers* and *Lenders* presume they shall accordingly be saved harmless.

And, it is their humble desire, it may be timely and effectually done, in respect of those destructive necessities afore-mentioned, whereinto many of them are

plunged; and that they may not be liſtened unto, who ſeek to perſwade thoſe who ſhould relieve them, that (as affairs now ſtand) there is no obligation upon the *Supream Power*, or upon the *Repreſentatives* of this *Nation*, to take cognizance of thoſe engagements; For, whatſoever they think, the *Publick Peace*, and the honour of the whole *Nation*, together with their *Kings* and *Parliaments*, will therein be much concerned, whether their Power who granted thoſe *Eſtates* and *Securities*, were juſtly or unjuſtly conſtituted, or exerciſed; conſidering it was then the ſole *viſible Power in being*, aſſented and ſubmitted unto as an *authentick Authority*, by the greateſt number of the people of every degree and qualification, in theſe three *Nations*, without any open contradiction (which implies an univerſall aſſent, or what is ſo equivalent thereto, that a factious or rebellious combination could not be juſtly thereto imputed.) It was acknowledged to be then the *Supream Power*, not only by *popular voices* in the air, but by voluntary *ſubſcriptions* alſo, under the hands of well near all the Magiſtrates, Knights, Citizens and Burgers of all Counties, Cities and Corporations in theſe Dominions, without any open proteſt made againſt it; and, *de non apparentibus & non exiſtentibus eadem eſt ratio*: Thoſe things, which when they ſhould *appear*, appear not, reputed are, among the things that *are not*. Moreover, it was actually owned and obeyed by the *Nobility*, as the *Supream Authority*, and by the reverend *Judges* of our Land in every *Court of Record*; by the *Paſtors* of Parochial Churches, and Congregations of each ſeveral judgement, to be by divine Precepts, and the examplary practiſe of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, that Power (being then the Power which had ſole viſible being) whereto obedience was due: Such

alſo

alſo it was generally reputed and acknowledged by the *Publick Miniſters* of all neighbouring *Nations*, *Kings*, *Princes*, and *Republicks*; wiſer then whom, it could not be expected, that this *Remonſtrant*, or any of the ſaid *Purchaſers* and *Lenders* ſhould have been. Therefore, if they were deceived, the examples of ſuch conſiderable perſons, and ſo much Reaſon deceived them, that no man living can be certain, wherein he is not deceived; or that he may not be as much deceived now, or hereafter, as he, and others were heretofore.

But, without queſtion, the *Powers in being*, whether by *Gods* Grace or permiſſion, all Power being given by him, (even that which *Pontius Pilate* had to crucifie his Son) are to be the object of our obedience while they continue, whatſoever they ſeem; and, no man can be juſtly blamed for ſubmitting *actively* thereunto in meer *civil things*, or with a *paſsive obedience*, in matters relating to *GOD* and *Conſcience*; nor can this *Principle* be diſadvantagious to the Power for the time being, but will be a great ſtrengthening and ſecurity thereunto, if well underſtood: Even as a *man*, whether he were lawfully or unlawfully begotten, is *truly and eſſentially a man*, and ſo reputed, as long as the *Soul* and *Body* continue together, (howſoever he ſhall be diſmembred by others, or by his own default.) So, that *Power* and *Parliament*, by which the ſaid *Securities* and *Sales* were given and made, were a *valid Power*, and a true *Parliament*, to all intents and purpoſes, ſo long as they retained that which was eſſential to ſupream *Powers* and *Parliaments*, how ſurreptiouſly ſoever that Power was acquired, or whatſoever was but accidentally defective: Or elſe perhaps, the lawfulneſs of moſt *Powers* and *Parliaments*, (yea, and of moſt *humane Authorities and Conſtitutions*) would be otherwiſe found defective enough

enough to be queſtioned, and to have all their tranſactions rendred invalid : And ſo likewiſe, they may *de facto* (how juſt ſoever they be *de jure*) when a *Power* ſhall be permitted to raign, which is ſtrong enough to make WILL and PLEASURE the *Supream Law*: For (to ſpeak truth in plain *Engliſh*, which this *Remonſtrant* heartily loves to do, when juſt occaſion is offered) a *prevailing Power*, in the hands of *Tyrants*, (howſoever acquired) is while it hath being, *paramount* to all *Laws* and rational Arguments; and will be obeyed in every thing as it pleaſeth, right or wrong; or elſe break or deſtroy all that oppoſeth it, till GOD extraordinarily reſtrains it, or breaks it into pieces.

Bleſſed be his name for it, we are not yet ſubjected to ſuch a Tyrannie as our ſins have deſerved; but, to a *King* from whom we have received an *Earneſt*, making us hopeful that *Juſtice* and *Mercy* will equally flow from the Throne, either when he ſhall be fully and rightly informed of ſuch particulars as are pertinent to his cognizance and care; or when GOD's time is come : And therefore, this *Remonſtrant*, doth in order thereunto, hereby ſignifie on behalf of himſelf and ſuch other *Purchaſers* and *Lenders* as aforeſaid; that, when they engaged with and for the the ſaid *Parliament* (lent their moneys, and purchaſed the forementioned eſtates) they did it not upon any factious *Principle*; nor meerly to get ſatisfaction for what they had disburſed, or to have recompence for ſervices formerly done; but, for ſupply alſo of *Publick neceſſities*, and to diſ-engage the ſaid *Parliament* and *Nation* from thoſe debts, which were originally contracted for the ſervice of the late *King*; by which debts, other *engagements* were (in part at leaſt) occaſioned; and

for

for diſcharge whereof, that Parliament was impowered to continue undiſſolved, till the ſaid debts and engagements were paid and diſcharged: And this *Remonſtrant* then believed, and ſtill believes, that the ſaid *Parliament* was fully authoriſed, both to raiſe money by what lawfull means they could, to ſupply publick wants, and to make ſuch *Sales* and *Securities* as they propoſed, to repay and ſatisfie for what was lent, bought, or acted by their commands, for the Publick honour or ſafety: And he ſo believes, becauſe *Parliaments* were that *Supream Council* of the *Kingdom*, to whoſe *Orders*, *Acts*, and *Ordinances*, the people had ever heretofore been obedient, without ſcruple or blame; yea, whereto no leſs obedience was required, then to the Kings *perſonal commands*; nay, much more, as it was then thought, when *Empſon* and *Dudley*, two eminent perſons, (and as this *Remonſtrant* remembers) of the *Kings privy Council*, were condemned by Judgement in *Parliament*, and executed for their officious obedience, in executing the Kings illegal *Commiſsion* under the great Seal of *England*; which was more obliging, then his perſonal mandates. A *Popular Supream Power*, whileſt it is actually in being, cannot be properly impeached of Treaſon, nor any who acts by the commands or authority thereof: Becauſe, it was then our duty to be obedient thereto. And though a *ſingle perſon*, or *few*, or *many*, yea though *Cities*, *Counties*, *Provinces*, and whole *Armies* may be Traytors, it is not reaſonably ſuppoſed the *Repreſentatives* of whole *Nations* can ſo be, and if poſſibly they might, there is no competent Judge thereof but GOD himſelf, who uſually determineth ſuch differences (as he is *LORD of Hoſts*) by the *ſword*, as he did lately upon a *joynt appeal*, and afterward, by reverſing again that *Judgement* for the

ſins of theſe *Nations*, hath righteouſly executed his dooms on both *parties*, for their mutual failings in their *reciprocal Relations*; and which dooms were reciprocally inflicted on both the ſaid parties for their treaſons againſt his divine Majeſty, for their groſs hypocriſies, apoſtaſies, prophaneneſs, unmercifulneſs and injuſtice, in which many imitate each other to this day. For even many of thoſe actions which ought not to have been done, lay obligations upon their actors and their ſucceſſors, when they are done. *Children* ſhould not be unlawfully begotten; yet when miſ-begotten, the parents are obliged in all duties by them to be performed to their children. The *Iſraelites* were not to have made a league with the *Gibeonites*; but when it was made, they were bound to obſerve it; and for the breach thereof, the whole Nation was puniſhed many years after, and ſeven of their Kings ſons hanged alſo for that tranſgreſſion.

Moreover, it is further conſiderable, that the *Parliament* which made the ſaid *Sales*, and granted the ſaid *Securities*, were both the *Kings* and *Peoples Truſtees*, ſummoned by the late *Kings Writ*, to conſult about the moſt weighty affairs of the *Kingdom*, and delegated by a *popular Election*, to diſpoſe of the *Peoples Intereſt*, as they ſhould find cauſe, for the *Common good*. And thereupon, this *Remonſtrant* conceived, he might reaſonably have confided as much in that Parliament, as in this now ſitting; and doth ſuppoſe, that they who make queſtion of the former, may as rationally be doubtful, both of this, and of all future *Parliaments*; eſpecially, if the ſucceſſors of that *Power* and *Parliament* ſhall not, (or ought not in equity) to confirm their *Sales* and *Securities*, nor give recompence to thoſe who are damnified, out of the eſtates of thoſe who truſted them with

with the Publick Faith, whoſe eſtates, as long as they ſhall be a *people*, will in conſcience, be liable thereunto. And, it ſeems to this *Remonſtrant*, by matter of Fact, ſince the ſitting of this preſent *Parliament*, that even in their judgement, the *Sales* and *Securities*, granted and given by the *long Parliament*, ſhould be made good according to their intention. For, they cauſed or ordered payment to be made of very great ſumms to the now *Lord Maior of London*, and to Major General *Maſſey*; perſons who heretofore were of the ſame judgement with other men, now called *Phanatiques*; and who then oppoſed the *Kings* armed power, both in *Field* and *Garriſon*, as vigorouſly as any, in the beginning of the late war; and were inſtrumental in that, which enabled others to proſecute him to death: Theſe had no other, but the very ſame *Security*, which the *Remonſtrant*, and the reſt afore-mentioned, had for money lent, lands bought, and *ſervices* done by the commands of that *Repreſentative* of this Nation, and which to make good the ſaid *Securities*, was by a peculiar *poſitive Law*, to have been continued as aforeſaid, to that purpoſe, till they were diſſolved by an *Act of Parliament*, with their own conſent. The loſs of which Power, whether occaſioned by their own default, or other mens, or by GOD's immediate juſtice upon them, is no bar in equity, to the *Purchaſes* claimed, *Securities* or *Debts* aforeſaid; in regard the *Nation* in whoſe name they were made and contracted, to whoſe uſe the ſaid money was raiſed, by the ſaid Sales, Loans, and Condeſcentions; (and upon whoſe credit alſo they were granted by their own Acts, perſonated by their *Truſtees*) is the ſame *Nation* by whom all this was tranſacted, and to whom the injuſtice and dishonour of violating thoſe *Securities* will be imputed: And if the

Repreſentative thereof now in being, or ſome other hereafter impowered, provide not an *expedient* whereby to diſoblige it from the ſaid Securities, it will be a blot upon it (yea worſe) whileſt it is a Nation. For, it will be liable to the Judgements which are due to ſuch a failing, in what ought to be performed. Alſo, if thoſe *Securities* be rendred void, (for whoſe confirmation ſuch extraordinary proviſion was made) nothing will hereafter be reputed a good Security, which can be thereby given: For, in probability, States and Parliaments will ſo loſe their credit, that they will not only be reputed the greateſt cheaters in the world; and the moſt cruel and moſt fooliſh deſtroyers of their own honour and relations; but alſo, in whatſoever neceſſity they ſhall be, will never more be confided in, notwithſtanding all their ſpecious pretences, plauſible Speeches, Declarations, Proteſtations, and Engagements; and then their Magiſterial ſlighting, contemning, and condemning, juſt and reaſonable Propoſals, Cautions, and humble requeſts of *oppreſſed Supplicants*, will have evil Conſequents, though they may ſerve their ends for a while. The *Remonſtrant* fears this *Reſult*, and that there are ſome endeavouring to make invalid the ſaid *Securities*, together with the *Kings* gracious condeſcentions, if it be poſſible, both to the *Remonſtrant* and others, who can hardly walk the ſtreets without abuſive affronts and provocations; in which conſiderations it is preſumed he is allowed by the Law of *Nature*, (and ſhall be permitted by your *humanity*) to plead and inſinuate in a peaceable manner, ſuch Motives as reaſonably tend to their timely relief; eſpecially, when they are made almoſt careleſs of their lives by being totally deprived of that, whereupon life dependeth, through their neglect of Juſtice to whom they conſcientiouſly adhered.

But

But much more weight may be laid upon the Argument drawn from that tender reſpect, that ought to be had to the honour of the *King* and his *Parliament*, which this *Remonſtrant* cannot chuſe but frequently touch upon, as being of very high concernment. A Gentleman of the loweſt rank, who hath any ſenſe of his true honour, is no leſs careful to keep his *word* and *promiſe*, then to perform what he is obliged unto by an Inſtrument confirmed with *hand* and *ſeal*; yea more, becauſe he to whom he ſtands engaged by the latter, confided leſs in him, and hath a *legal ſecurity*, whereby he may probably be ſaved harmleſs, howſoever he be inclined to make performance, who gave him credit. And it ought to be remembred, that by his *Majeſties Declaration* from *Breda*, concerning *Sales*; by a *Declaration* made in this *Parliament* the 8. of *May* laſt; by his *Majeſties Proclamation* the 6. of *June* laſt; by an *Order* in *Parliament* laſt *Auguſt*, reſtraining *Eccleſiaſticks* from granting Leaſes of any of the ſaid lands by them claimed; by his *Majeſties Speech* at the end of the firſt Seſſion of this *Parliament*; and by the L. *Chancellours Speech* ſeconding the ſame; (which gave hope that ſom good proceed ſhould be made toward the relief promiſed, before the Members of this *Parliament* were arrived at their *Countrey-Houſes*.) It ſeemed to be the intent both of the *King*, and of this *Parliament*, that the ſaid *Purchaſes* ſhould, and ought, to have been confirmed to the late *Purchaſers*; and that in the mean time, their poſſeſsions ſhould be quieted, and their *Rents* and *Arrears* paid unto them by their Tenants: Nevertheleſs, to the diſhonour both of the *King* and *Parliament*, the *Prelates* not only ſlight the *Orders* and *Acts* of the *Commons* alone, and the *Ordinances* of the *Lords and Commons* joyntly, with that which was de-

clared by the *King*, as aforesaid; but, do many other wayes, act so violently and arbitrarily repugnant to these condescentions, as if they would make the *People* believe, that they knew the *King* and this *Parliament* intended not what they declared, except only in things relating to the benefit of them the said *Prelates:* For, the first *Votes* of this *House of Commons*, for restoring them to their *Mansion-Houses*, and the *Votes* of the *Grand Committee*, excluding persons, under several *Qualifications*, (not excepted in the *Act of Oblivion*) from the benefit of the intended *Act for confirmation of Sales*, they observe, and impose as *Laws* upon the *People*; but, on the contrary, the *Votes* of the same *House*, for prohibiting them the said *Ecclesiasticks* to grant any Leases, until the intended *Act of Sales* was passed; as also, for the *Augmentation of Vicaredges*, and the *Votes* of the said *Grand Committee*, for satisfying the *Purchasers* their *money and Interest*, before they did part with their *possessions*, they reject as of no force, the Parliament being dissolved; and regard the said *Ordinances* of the *Lords and Commons*, and the said *Acts and Orders* of the *Commons* alone, much less. Moreover, if in any thing his Majesties Commissioners encline to give the least satisfaction to any *Purchaser*, the said *Ecclesiasticks* cry out against it as an *Arbitrary Prerogative Commission*; though in cases relating to their advantage, they cry up the *Prerogative* against the *Laws*. Also upon Petitions of some of the *Purchasers* (as the *Remonstrant* is informed) *Orders* are made, seeming to enable them to receive all *Arrears* due before the 24. of *June* last; when it is well known (perhaps to themselves) that by the *Act of Oblivion*, Arrears to that day are generally pardoned, and that the Tenants who ought to have paid them, lay hold on that *Act*, and disobey those *Orders*;

Orders; by which means, *Officers* are only benefited, and the *ſuiters* more damnified by expences, inſtead of getting relief; So that, whereas *Purchaſers* are invited to bring in their *deeds* to be cancelled, upon promiſing that they ſhould receive all Rents due at and before *Michaelmas* laſt, it would be plainer dealing to tell them, they ſhould have a *Quarters Rent*, to relinquiſh their *purchaſes*; for in truth it amounts to no more, from *June* 24. to *Michaelmas* next following. Furthermore, there being nothing promiſed by King or Parliament, as aforeſaid, in their Declarations, in relation to the *Old Tenants* of *Prelates Lands*, (the ſaid *Tenants* having had *pre-emption* before all other, when the ſaid Lands were ſold; enjoying alſo their full term without interruption, during their reſpective Leaſes; and being no otherwiſe diſplaced, then they uſually were formerly when the ſaid *Prelates* pleaſed by *Concurrent Leaſes* or otherwiſe, to take theſe *Farms* into their own hands, or for the benefit of their *children* and *relations*, at the expiration of their Terms) it had been more candid uſage, to have abſolutely ſignified to the *Purchaſers*, that the ſaid *Old Tenants* ſhould be preferred before them, rather then to permit the ſaid *Purchaſers* (deluded by a vain hope) to conſume money and time in ſeeking for a *Compoſition*, and to ſuffer the ſaid *Prelates* in the mean time, to receive their whole Rents, to eject the *Purchaſers* by force, when they had paid all Taxes, with other duties, not without great expence beſtowed in fencing, ſoyling, plowing and ſowing the ſaid Lands; and alſo to grant Leaſes, as they have done, to the vacating of all the coſt and labour of the ſaid *Purchaſers*, in purſuing what ſeemed graciouſly intended both by King and Parliament on their behalf. Theſe and many other paſſages, which this *Remonſtrant* hath obſerved,

ſerved, makes it appear unto him, that there is not that care yet taken to preſerve the honour of the *King* and of this *Parliament*, in giving ſatisfaction to *Purchaſers*, as might be wiſhed; and that there is not that reſpect had to *Juſtice* and *good Conſcience*, in ſatisfying them, as hath been heretofore vouchſafed by *Princes*, *States*, and *Parliaments* in the like *Caſes*.

In true *Reaſon*, (which diſtinguiſheth *Men* from *Beaſts*, as *Juſtice* and *Mercy* differences them from *Devils*) this *Remonſtrant* conceives, that the whole *matter* in *Fact* and *Judgement*, concerning the ſaid *Sales* and *Securities*, muſt unavoidably be brought to this *Dilemma*; (to wit) either the *Long Parliament* had Power to make ſuch *Sales*, and grant ſuch *Securities* as aforeſaid, or elſe they had not: If they had ſuch a *Power*, then their *Sales* and *Securities* muſt be allowed and confirmed; or, at leaſt, (if in Law or Equity, reſtitution of what was by them ſold, ought to be made to the former poſſeſſors) then recompence muſt be given another way; elſe injuſtice is commited, GOD, and the *Nation* are diſhonoured, and many thouſand Families and innocent perſons will be unmercifully expoſed to ruine; and that *ſeverity* and want of *compaſſion*, for which they were viſited in wrath, who laſt abuſed their Power, will be more then doubled. GOD is the ſame he was; and if private men, for not performing their Covenants made to and with each other, (though to their own hindrance) ſhall be excluded from his Tabernacle; doubtleſs an equivalent Judgement will be extended to *States* and *Parliaments*, or thoſe whom they repreſent. Then, on the other part, if it ſhould be granted that the foreſaid *Parliament* aſſumed, and exerciſed wilfully a Power, not thereto belonging, to the damnifying of thoſe who confided

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in them; that *Parliaments* ſucceſſors ought then in Juſtice, to award ſatisfaction out of their eſtates, who arrogated ſuch an unwarrantable Power, as far as they will extend, if they can be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe among them, who were guiltleſs: And if that *diſtinction* cannot be made, or, the damages exceed their abilities; then, condign ſatisfaction ſhould be made out of their *Common purſe*, who intruſted thoſe with the *Publick-Faith*: For, the greateſt part of the *People* have often been too careleſs upon whom they impoſe that confidence, and perhaps, will be more wary, when they have well paid for it, what perſons they chuſe; and be ſo wiſe, as to conſider, that they who have not wit enough to govern their private eſtates, or they who conſume many thouſands of pounds, in Ale houſes, Inns and Taverns, (whoſe reckonings, as this *Remonſtrant* hears, are not yet paid) to procure themſelves to be Elected by Feaſtings and Drunkenneſs, had probably ſome worſe ends in being ſo prodigal, then a ſincere intention, to ſerve GOD, the King, and their Countrey.

Yet, neither this *Remonſtrant*, nor as he believeth, many of the ſaid *Purchaſers* and *Lenders*, do expect ſatisfaction ſhould be made them at full for all their damages, (though in juſtice it ought ſo to be) but conſidering the *Rublick wants*, and other private mens neceſſities, as well as their own; with how much it may tend at this time to the ſettlement of Peace and Amity, that every man ſhould enjoy a comfortable ſubſiſtence, they would reſt contented with ſo much only toward a repair, as might diſcharge them from their engagements occaſioned by the ſaid Loans and Purchaſes, to the redeeming the loſs of their liberties, and to preſerve a competency proportionable to their ſe-

veral degrees, and the condition of their neareſt *relations*; which might be raiſed without overburthening any, if ſuch *Expedients* might be ſpeedily taken into conſideration, and vigorouſly proſecuted, as may be hereafter propoſed; whereas the courſe which is yet purſued, will neither be a means of relieving many, nor of ſo reconciling diſagreeing Parties, but that the Breaches will daily grow wider, and encreaſe Animoſities till they become irreconcileable; and kindle ſuch an univerſal flame by private ſewds and vexatious ſuits, that it will never perhaps be quenched, whileſt ought is left unconſumed, or whileſt any conſiderable number of them, or of their Poſterities, are living, who were unhappily engaged againſt each other in the late war: And for prevention whereof, there will be no poſſibility in nature, but by a general *Forgiveneſs* on all ſides, mediated by a moderate courſe, to preſerve in ſome indifferent meaſure, that Intereſt by which each man may be comfortably maintained: For, until that be ſincerely endeavoured, proſecuting the rigour of the Laws, by impriſoning, ſuing, hanging, beheading and quartering will terrifie few of thoſe who have neither eſtates to loſe, nor an outward condition of life worth preſerveing: Nor in ſuch caſes will preaching the principles of *morality*, or *Evangelical Precepts* prevail much, but with men, naturally meek, (or perhaps cowardly) or ſuch as are of ſo true a Chriſtian and ſanctified a temper, that, according to the doctrine and example of *Chriſt*, they can freely forgive their enemies, and ſubmit to any thing, wherewith it ſhall pleaſe GOD to permit the *Supream Power* to exerciſe their Faith and Patience; which number is ſo ſmall in reſpect of the reſt of thoſe who are at this time exaſperated, in relation to their Eſtates, Credits and Conſciences, (as they

they will pretend at leaſt) that the Publick charge, which the preſent Government may be conſtrained yearly to continue, will amount to more, then that which would ſuffice to calm their ſpirits, by a repair of their deſtructive damages: And yet their ſuppreſſion by violence, may paradventure alſo, be prolonged, until ſome advantage be gotten by the changeableneſs of humane affairs, to let their fury break forth in ſuch a time as may deſtroy or endanger that *peace*, which they deſire to preſerve: For, an Army is a ſecurity which hath in it, neither certainty nor ſafety. It being therefore this *Remonſtrants* principle, not only to ſeek the preſervation of that *viſible Power* whereto God ſubjects him, out of prudence and moral gratitude, becauſe it protects him; but even for conſcience ſake alſo, (though it ſhould oppreſs him, as the laſt did) he thinks it his duty to give a *Caveat*, whereby they whom it ſhall concern, may take it into conſideration, whether both *Parties* which have oppoſed each other, are not in ſome reſpect ſo equally guilty of the ſins occaſioning the *Judgements* under which they have lain together, or by turns; and whether it will not be their next and ſafeſt way to a *general peace*, to divide the burthen which now lies deſtructively upon many, to be born by the whole *Nation*, and to make it as eaſie, as Juſtice and Prudence will permit, by an impartial reſpect to the intereſt of all Parties concerned: To which end, ſomewhat ſhall be propoſed before the concluſion of this *Remonſtrance*; not Magiſterially, to be ſtrictly ſo or ſo proſecuted; but rather, to be a hint of ſomething to that purpoſe, to be deliberately determined by wiſer men.

It will be pertinent to *common peace*, to take notice how many hundred thouſands are at this time exaſpe-

rated, by being nigh totally deſtroy'd or much impoveriſhed by the loſs of their livelihoods & liberties, with little hope of remedy : Some, by impriſonment upon malicious ſuggeſtions only, without any cauſe of offence given ; ſome by being deprived of their monies exacted, lent or contributed upon the *Publick Faith*, to that Power whereto they heretofore ſubmitted conſcientiouſly, or by compulſion ; ſome by being ejected forcibly out of Lands, Offices, or other Eſtates by them Purchaſed, and formerly belonging to the King, Queen, Prince, Prelates, and ſuch as were then reputed Delinquents ; ſome by taking up, on valuable conſiderations, thoſe Lands or Offices from the firſt or ſecond Purchaſers and Poſſeſſors, in ſatisfaction, or in relation to debts, jointures, childrens portions, or other collateral Contracts, Securities, or Engagements ; and ſome by great ſumms expended in buildings or other improvements, borrowed from many who are quite undone by their diſability to repay it ; occaſioning ſuits and quarrels no leſs deſtructive to them, then to the original *Purchaſers* and *Lenders*. And not a few thouſands are as much diſcontented upon other civil and conſcientious accounts, whom to provoke altogether, may be of dangerous conſequence, though the Kings *Indulgence* hath much qualified and ſettled the minds and eſtates of ſome : For little advantaged will they be by a *pardon* for *life*, who needed it, or for ought elſe criminal, who are put into a worſe condition by *living*, then to be executed ten times by the hang-man. The natural temper of this Nation, is for theſe reſpects much to be regarded, and they are accordingly to be dealt withall ; as it was prudently counſelled by King *Henry* the fourth, upon his death-bed to his Son, whoſe words I will here inſert as not impertinent. *I charge thee*

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(ſaid he) *before God, to miniſter the Law indifferently to all, to eaſe the oppreſſed, to beware of flatterers, not to deferr* Juſtice, *nor yet to be ſparing of mercy; puniſh the oppreſſors of thy people, ſo ſhalt thou obtain favour of God, and love and fear of thy* Subjects, *who whileſt they have* wealth, *ſo long ſhalt thou have their obedience; but, made poor by oppreſſions, will be ready to make Inſurrections; Rejoyce not ſo much in the glory of thy* Crown, *as meditate on the burthenous care which accompanies it. Mingle* Love *with* Fear; *ſo thou, as the heart, ſhalt be defended in the midſt of the body; but know, that neither the heart without the members, nor* King *without the* Subjects *help, is of any force. Speed,* pag. 763.

This *Remonſtrant* conceives, he might have procured many thouſand hands ſubſcribed to atteſt the reaſonableneſs of this *Caution*, and of what elſe is in this *Remonſtrance* expreſſed or deſired; but he endeavoured it not, becauſe, he thinks it will be needleſs to wiſe men, who very well know, that common cheat ſignifies little or nothing, as hands are uſually procured. When *Reaſon* prevails not more then *Voices*, there is ſmall hope of *Juſtice*. And, as it was ſaid to *Dives*, *They who will not believe* Moſes *and the* Prophets, *will not believe one ſent from the dead.* So, may this *Remonſtrant* ſay, *They, who will not be moved to do conſcionable and righteous things, for the ſake of Juſtice and Mercy, will little regard Remonſtrances or Petitions, ſubſcribed with many thouſand hands, till they feel them about their ears; or, until the vengeance of GOD ſeizes on them, as it lately did on thoſe who neglected good Cautions, until they had not power to put them in execution.* Miſconſter not this, as a ſecret threat to any in *Authority*; for it is humbly and ſoberly intended, to be only a *Memorandum*, uſeful at this time, wherein all have not the patience of

Saints, who are grieved or oppreſſed. That, *which hath been*, may be again *hereafter*; and there be among thoſe who are now depreſſed, ſome of thoſe *Anointed-ones* of the LORD, whom he will not permit to be harmfully touched without *Vengrance*: For, he hath other *Anointed-ones* beſide *Kings*, whom he often reproves for their ſakes; and verily he will not forget the poor for ever, though to humble them for thier tranſgreſſions, he hideth his face from them for a ſeaſon; at leaſt, his *Everlaſting Mercies*, he will not take from them. God preſerve us from ſeditious and mutinous repinings; and give us all grace, from the loweſt to the higheſt, joyntly and ſeverally, to endeavour that which prevents deſperate *Activities*, and take away every occaſion of temptations thereunto: For, though meek and conſcientious men, will, as they ought to do, wait patiently upon GOD in all their ſufferings; yet meer natural men, (of which ſort, the greateſt number of thoſe many thouſands conſiſt, who are made almoſt deſperately careleſs of their lives) will not eaſily conform to *Evangelical* principles, (as is before implyed) but, perhaps, when their perſonal wants are aggravated with the importunings and upbraidings of Creditors, the neglects of friends, and the ſcorn of enemies, the jears of neighbours, and the cries of periſhing wives and children, it may ſo provoke them, that in ſuch extremities, they will have as a little regard to *Reaſon*, *Religion* and *Civil duties*, as they had to their ſad *Petitions* from whom they expected Juſtice or Compaſſion; and then like provoked *Engliſh Maſtives*, (the true *Hieroglyphicks* of *Engliſh mens* temper) fly upon Bulls, Bears or Lyons, without fear of their inequality in ſtrength and number, or into any dangerous attempts. Take it not therefore offenſively, that you are

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in this extraordinary manner forewarned thereof. Many things have been this year permitted by way of *premonition*, more then at other times. The *Waters*, which are the Peoples Hieroglyphick, have had several prodigeous *motions*; the *Air*, not a few portentuous impressions; yea, the *Fire* and *Earth* also; and many other of GOD's creatures have contributed *Symptoms* pertinent to our instruction, which ought to be well heeded; and are no such *Non significants*, as they would seem to think them, who do what they can to beclowd them.

It may be, the late *Insurrection* of those few, called *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, hath somewhat in it which tends to *premonition*: For, GOD and Nature never act or permit any thing in vain (no not the falling of a sparrow to the ground, or the numbring of hairs) and, this *Remonstrant*, therefore, conceiving himself obliged to declare his sense thereupon, will make bold here to insert it, that it may not be altogether fruitless. He truly professeth he knew not one of those persons, so much as by *name*, and is as far from justifying that, or any such attempt, as they who either *martially* or *legally* prosecuted them to their destruction in the flesh. For, though *Moses* slew the *Ægyptian* which oppressed an *Israelite*, being then but a private person, *Rahab* confederated with forraign spies, to the destruction of her native City; *Jael* infringed both a *League* and the *Law of Hospitality*, in killing *Sisera*; and *Ehud*, under colour of presenting a *Gift*, and of being a *Messenger* from GOD, slew King *Eglon*, to whom he was a tributary *Subject*; and these had no doubt, secret warrants from GOD for those *irregular Actings*, by a divine impulse upon their spirits, making them content to hazard the destruction of their bodies to a

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temporal condemnation in those services; but no such *secret* ever entred into the soul of this *Remonstrant*, nor doth he find his heart enclinable to act any thing not warrantable by the revealed will of GOD; because, he finds, as well by what hath within his own experience befaln to some, as by the example of *Simeon* and *Levi*, that, men may be so deluded, by their own fancies and corruptions, as to think the most barbarous cruelties are acts of *Justice*. Therefore he leaves the judgement of those *persons*, and of such *attempts*, to those unto whom they appertain, and to God, who only knows their hearts, their purposes and warrants, if they had any; and whose *Mercies* being infinite, and his *Judgements* past searching out, doth sometime permit *external Judgements* to seize upon a *few*, to make way for *many* to escape them; and otherwhile exposeth men to temporal cruelties, without mercy here; that an everlasting *mercy* may be enjoyed hereafter. But, whatever those *persons* were in themselves; or whatsoever that *attempt* was in its own nature; this *Remonstrant* is very certain that it was a *Providential permission*, for their sins and ours, hinting unto this *Generation*, things very pertinent thereto; and foreshewing somewhat to come, (if not prevented by Repentance and Amendment) which it will concern us to search after, with as much diligence as we can. What it particularly points at, he hath a dark view by a *contemplative Vision*, like an imperfect *Apparition in the Air*, which is not visible enough to be ascertained in words to other men; yet sufficient he thereby discovereth to make it evident to himself, that such previous considerations as these that follow, will be very needfull.

First, forasmuch (as aforesaid) GOD and Nature

ture act or permit nothing in vain; It is to be considered, that the ſuddain riſing and deſperate attempt before-mentioned, tends to more then ſuch a vanity ſeems to be in it ſelf; and that the *Circumſtances* of the *Fact*, and the *Qualifications* of the *perſons*, may have much in them tending to the diſquiſition of what *Providence* intended.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, That if Moral and Religious men, being left to themſelves, may be tranſported into ſuch dangerous extravagancies, what they may poſſibly be hurried into, who have neither honeſty nor Religion to reſtrain them, if GOD ſhould be then provoaked, to give way to their corruptions; when they are tempted by their *Luſts*, or exaſperated by *Sufferings*, which they conceive injuriouſly inflicted.

Thirdly, If upon a miſtaken *Principle*, a few perſons, ſeduced to take up *carnal weapons* to proſecute a *ſpiritual warfare*, might be ſo encouraged, and elevated in their ſpirits, as to out-dare the whole Power of one of the greateſt and moſt populous Cities in the world; even when her Citizens were in Arms, in readineſs upon their *guards*, and the *Militia* of the whole Kingdom without her walls, in a defenſive and an offenſive poſture, to aſſiſt if need were: It is very conſiderable, what the effect thereof might be, if the whole Body of GOD's *Elect* in theſe Nations, ſpirited by an unqueſtionable belief, grounded upon his promiſes, ſhould engage all together as one man in his *Cauſe*, armed with all the ſpiritual weapons offenſive and defenſive.

Fourthly, It is obſervable, that thoſe *Impulſes* which are termed *Phanaticall*, and thoſe *perſons* who are agitated by them, are neither to be ſlighted, nor inconſiderately treated withall: Becauſe, if they be moved

by *divine Inſtinct*, (which may be diſcernable) as *Jonathan* and his Armour-bearer were, two of them will be able to rout a whole *Garriſon*, ten to chaſe an hundred, and an hundred to put a thouſand to flight. If they be ſtirred up, but by a meer *Phanatique deluſion*, they may accidentally, be ſufficiently ſpirited, thereby to vanquiſh a power, much ſuperiour to themſelves in ſtrength and number, as it hath often happened, *when unequal Armies have joyned battle*, and the *ſuperſtitious vulgar* were prepoſſeſſed by ſome ominous conceit or preſage divulged among them: As for inſtance, at the battle of *Agencourt*, (if the *Remonſtrants* remembrance fails him not) when the *Engliſh*, over-powered by their numerous Adverſaries, ten (nay twenty to one) as ſome writers affirm, (when their ſtrength was ſpent, by ſickneſs and wearineſs, and they quite ſurrounded, and ſeeming without hope of eſcaping an utter defeat) a *prediction* being divulged among them, which had long before preſaged, that the *ſtones of the field* ſhould riſe up for them againſt the *French*: GOD, who is the giver of *Victories*, permitted that deſpicable means, to be inſtrumental thereto; for, *weapons failing*, and the *Engliſh* thereby encouraged, took up *ſtones*, and obtained the moſt *ſignal Victory*, that ever was gotten in theſe parts of the world. And the moſt famous *Captains* among the Antients, made uſe of *Auguries*, *Predictions*, and ſuch like *mediums*, to ſtir in their *ſouldiery* ſuch *impulſes*, as we call *Phanatique*, and very frequently thereby prevailed.

Fifthly, If a handful of men (as it were) upon a conſcientious account only, built upon a falſe ground, without being moved with reſpect to their *perſonal damages or intereſts*, could be ſo deſperately and obſtinately reſolved: It is conſiderable, what the deſperation

tion of ſo many hundred thouſands may amount unto; who are or may be exaſperated through unſufferable inſolencies and oppreſſions, making them careleſs of their lives, by defect of all things pertinent to a comfortable life; they having therewith no ſenſe of *Morality*, *Piety*, or *Conſcience* to reſtrain them, propoſed nothing but *vengeance*; and GOD ſhould then alſo, therewith let looſe the fury of others, whoſe malevolence and diſcontents are not yet much heeded, to make them inſtrumental for the deliverance of thoſe from *Oppreſſion*, have meekly ſubmitted their Cauſe to him only. For know, that they who are eminent for nothing ſo much, as for their prodigality, whoreing, roaring, drinking or ſwearing; and valiant only in Baudy-houſes and Taverns, will run away like ſheep before reſolute aſſaylants, made deſperate as aforeſaid.

Know alſo, that the *LORD of Hoſts*, who is the GOD of *Nature*, as well as of *Grace*, is General of a two-fold *Militia*, furniſhed with diſtinct weapons according to the ſeveral ſervices whereby they are to glorifie him; the one *Natural*, and the other *Spiritual*; and that he makes uſe of both to correct his *Children*, and deſtroy the *Enemies* of his *Kingdom*, as occaſion is given. The firſt he employeth in ſhedding the blood of his *malicious oppoſers*, or of *incorrigible ſervants*, ſometime, with hazzard or loſs of their own; and the other, (if need be) he engageth in *ſufferings*, and by contributing their own blood alſo in his *Cauſe*; managing to that end, thoſe offenſive and defenſive *weapons* only, which are proper to a *ſpiritual warfare*. Theſe laſt, are thoſe followers of the *Lamb* whither ſoever he goeth, who are *Saints* and *Souldiers*, in the moſt ſuper-eminent degree; to whom the other uſually make way by the violence of natural Faculties and Paſ-

ſions, to thoſe *Conqueſts* over *Prophaneneſs* and *Injuſtice*, which muſt be compleated by *Patience*, *Meekneſs*, *Love*, *conſtancy in Faith* and *Prayer*. And many of the former may be *Saints* alſo, who when their *natural corruptions* have been ſoaked in their own *blood*, or *ſufferings*, and the ſtains waſhed out, by being rinſed in the blood of the *Lamb*, ſhall have a ſhare both in his *Victories* and *Triumphs*.

Permit, I pray you, this *Remonſtrant*, with patience and candor, to purſue this plain-dealing a little further, and to add ſomewhat for vindication of himſelf, from thoſe miſ-interpretations which may be made of his honeſt and peaceable intentions, in theſe *free expreſſions*: For, when he calls to mind, that *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* were charged with *ſedition*, for innocently Preaching the peaceable glad-tidings of the *Goſpel*, for their ſafety to whom they preached them; and that ſome of the *Prophets* were impriſoned and perſecuted as ſeditious perſons, when they declared GOD's *Judgements*, and what ought to have been performed for preſervation of their *Common ſafety*; he thinks it not unlikely, in this froward *Generation*, that ſome *Objections* of that kind may be made againſt him, by their Pride, Malice, or Ignorance, who proſecute their ſelf-ends; And he being neither inſenſible, nor totally careleſs of thoſe diſadvantages which may befall thereby, nor ignorant how eaſie it is to find wherewith to beat a dog; will now (leſt he may be reſtrained from that liberty hereafter) preoccupate as much as he can, whileſt he may, to prevent *prejudicacy* (if it be poſſible) by giving reaſons for his Remonſtrating to the purpoſes afore-mentioned, and in this unuſual mode.

He knows how far the juſt bounds of a *free expreſ-*

ſion

ſon extends by the Laws of *GOD* and *Nature*; and though his *body* may be enſlaved, and kept from the exerciſe thereof by the cruelty of others, his *mind* cannot be inthralled, but by his own baſeneſs or puſillanity; and if he muſt periſh, he is reſolved to periſh like a *man*, not like a *beaſt*, or like one who cuts his own throat for fear of death. He will not whine like a *curdog*, or ſnarl at him, when he is beaten or kickt by his *Maſter*; nor cry like a *Swine*, when he is to be ſlain by the Butcher, or ringed for his rooting; nor doth he think himſelf obliged at this time, to be as dumb before his ſhearers, as CHRIST was; nor until a time comes (as it did to him) wherein *words* will either be wholly in vain, or may tend to prevent that *ſuffering*, whereunto he ſhall believe he was pre-ordained by *Providence*, for his *Maſters* glory, or for the welfare of other men; and then he will leave *ſcribling*, and bear his *Croſs* in ſilence. But it is yet, ſeaſonable for him to write and ſpeak, and if he now do it not, he may for ever hereafter hold his Peace; for it will be to no purpoſe. He writes and ſpeaks, with the more boldneſs, becauſe it is not for his own *Intereſt*; but as it lies wrapt up with the *Publick Honour*, *Peace*, and *Welfare*, and is preſervable, without injury to other *private perſons*. He acknowledgeth himſelf ſubject to the natural deſires, fears, frailties and infirmities of the weakeſt men; yet, GOD, by his *Grace*, hath (as he hopeth) ſo habituated him to the *Principles*, which will preſerve him in a warrantable *ſobriety*, that he ſhall dread nothing, but GOD and *himſelf*; or leſt by ignorance he may offend againſt his own *Conſcience*; in which caſe he is one of the verieſt *Cowards* in the world. He neither doth nor can willingly intend hereby the juſt offence of any: For he hates nothing, that GOD

hath made, *loves* him above all things ; his *neighbour* as *himſelf* ; and his *Countrey* (if his heart deceive him not) much better. He honours the *King*, and is, and will be, as faithful unto him, as he was to thoſe who lately exerciſed *Supream Authority* ; to whom, he was conſcientiouſly faithful to the laſt hour, wherein GOD permitted them to retain it ; never diſſembling, jugling, or halting between two *Parties* ; yea, though he was neglected and oppreſſed by thoſe to whom he was obedient. He that hath no *ſelf-love*, is as blameable, as he which hath too much, becauſe he wants that rule whereby he ought to regulate a Love to his *neighbour* ; and he who to his power, provides not for his *Family*, is worſe then an *Infidel*. Therefore, no malevolent repining or diſcontent, but a Chriſtian regard to his duty, and to thoſe many who are oppreſſed (which is enough to make a dumb man ſpeak) hath extracted this *Remonſtrance*, quickned with a little more Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury, then uſual, that (if he ſhould live ſo long) he might not ſolicit in vain for Juſtice twenty years longer, but have a ſpeedy diſpatch one way or other. For, *Qui rogat timidè, docet negare*, he, who ſneakingly demands *Juſtice*, as if he were begging an *Alms*, encourages his oppreſſors the more impudently to oppreſs him. And yet, perhaps, he had not adventured to expreſs himſelf in this mode, if an unreſiſtible impulſe had not made impreſſions on his heart, more for the ſakes of others, then for his own.

For, though this *Remonſtrant* hath had many provocations thereunto, by the loſs of his moſt precious time, with the ruine of his eſtate and credit ; thouſands perhaps, have ſuffered as much as he that way, whom patience, fear, or ſtupidity have kept ſilent ; and it would be a ſhame to him not to ſuffer as mutely as

other

other men; alſo he is reduced to a ſubſiſtence by *Charity*; but, that hath brought with it ſuch experimental evidences, of Gods merciful ſupplying a competency from day to day hitherto, that the damage is not only made thereby ſupportable, but comfortable alſo: and in this kind, he hath ſuffered no more then the King, and many perſons of honour have been exerciſed withal. This *Remonſtrant* hath likewiſe been made the ſcorn and deriſion of his enemies, neighbours and acquaintance, and is frequently perſecuted with uncivil upbraidings; but, he can paſs them over with as little regard, as the barkings of dogs, when he conſiders what *Shimeies* they are, who ſet them on, why, and to what purpoſe: That, which above all this afflicts him, are the ſufferings which have ſuddenly befain to ſome of his needy *Creditors*, and moſt near and beloved *Relations*; who, not accuſtomed to the want of food, rayment, and ſuch other neceſſaries or conveniencies as they formerly enjoyed, look otherwhile ſo ſadly upon him, that it makes his bowels yern: Yet, it may be, neither had that been moving enough to embolden him hereunto: But, when to all theſe inducements, there ſeemed to be added, in his apprehenſion, a likelihood of multiplying thoſe Confuſions, Oppreſſions, and Innovations, which will be a diſhonour to *God*, the *King*, and theſe *Nations*; (and as well hazzardous to the *Common peace*, as deſtructive to him and others in their private capacities) this *Remonſtrant* thought it better to adventure the tranquility of one man, then to let ſo many be in danger of periſhing, by continuing ſheepiſhly ſilent: And he confeſſes there is ſomewhat of *ſelfneſs*, even in that alſo; becauſe, he is afraid his own Conſcience would accuſe him for neglect of his duty, and bring greater diſtempers upon him, for his being

being ſilent at ſuch a time, then thoſe evils which he might hope thereby to eſcape: For, GOD having carried him, a long time through many viciſſitudes and dangers, giving him frequent experiments what the events of his own and other mens tranſactions were, and will be, (with an ability in ſome meaſure more then ordinary, to illuſtrate to vulgar capacities, thoſe things which are conſiderable) he dares not preſume to diſpleaſe and inrage his Conſcience, to avoid the diſpleaſure of men, whatſoever outward diſadvantages may happen. Theſe things conſidered, with thoſe *Priviledges* which are due by the Law of *Nature*, he conceives neither any *digreſsion* or *expreſsion* herein contained is needleſs, or can be juſtly queſtionable; and that, he is not obliged (his preſent condition being weighed) to make anſwer unto ought objected, which may tend to the accuſing of himſelf, though he were as blameable as he is innocent. For, he intends nothing to the iniury of *Publick* or *private Intereſts*; nor ſeeks for ought but his own according to Juſtice, that he may do *Juſtice* to his *Creditors* and *Relations*.

They who live at eaſe in plenty; becauſe, they ſee ſome appearances of a progreſs toward the relief of this *Remonſtrant* and other *ſufferers*, do condemn them as over-haſty, and more importunate then they need to be: Yea, are pleaſed to ſay, that much more is done for them already, then they deſerve; and that whatſoever ſhall be done for them, they will never be contented; which *Aſſeverations* are better evidences of their diſ-affection to the *ſufferers*, and of their want of true *Charity*, then of the truth of that which they affirm: And, it is the very ſame which was imputed to this *Remonſtrant*, at ſeveral times, during his almoſt twenty years ſolicitation, by ſome who were formerly in Power,

when

when he Petitioned to be relieved for his ſufferings in their *ſervice*; and how juſtly they did it, may be collected from the *literal ſenſe*, of this *metaphorical illuſtration* thereof: He complained of a *conſuming fire*, whereinto they permitted him to be thrown by their *neglects*; and after he had long complained, they for a remedy, toſt him into a *boyling Caldron*; that, not contenting him, they threw him into a *Frying-pan*; therewith he being no more eaſed, renewed his complaint, and then, they laid him upon a *Gridiron*; that being as painful, they turned him upon his *other ſide*; that, proving as uneaſie, he Petitioned again, and was only baſted with a few *Oylie words*, or had Orders pin'd on him, like papers to keep roaſt-beef from burning; he then once again, made an humble addreſs for more effectual means of relief; whereto ſome of them angrily replyed, *Nothing will ſatisfie this fellow*: and ſeeing none of the former *condeſcentions*, would give ſatisfaction, they at laſt caſt him into a *freezing Lake*, wherein he yet remains; and, but that the *Charity* of others, did otherwhile a little *thaw* him, he ere this time had been frozen to death, and laid where ſuch *Remonſtrances* as theſe are needleſs. Theſe are the *Favours* which this *Remonſtrant* obtained, from thoſe whom he ſerved faithfully and conſcientiouſly heretofore, though he were perſonally known well near to all of them, and though moſt of them were his *familiar acquaintance*, and ſome of them his *profeſſed friends*: Which when he ſeriouſly conſiders, and how he hath nevertheleſs been from time to time, ſo many years together, neglected and abuſed; he can hardly diſcern whether hath been more injurious unto him, *neighbours*, or *ſtrangers*; *hypocrites*, or *prophane perſons*; *ſeeming friends*, or *open enemies*; his *Countrey-men*, or ſome of his *own kindred*.

But, now he hopes better; for, worſe they cannot uſe him, whom he oppoſed for their ſakes, when they were in *Power*. And, if that obedience which he now profeſſeth unfeignedly to his *Majeſtie*, ſhall procure ſo much reſpect to his preſent condition, as to allow out of what he thought his own, wherewith to diſ-engage him from his *Creditors*, and redeem his *Family* from that poverty, which now oppreſſeth it, he ſhall not only be therewith contented, but thankfully acknowledge alſo, to the honour of the *King* and *State*, that he finds them, whom he had made his enemies, to be much more juſt and merciful unto him, then his profeſſed friends, of whom he had beſt deſerved: And it may be poſſible, that their *Generoſitie*, whatſoever he hath heretofore done (or here, or elſewhere expreſſed) will make them as confident of his *Allegiance*, as they are of the moſt faithful of thoſe, who profeſs obedience and conformity to the Government, and in the moſt uſual mode.

Let it not ſeem unſavoury to any *Reader*, that this *Remonſtrant*, inſiſts ſo much upon his perſonal ſad condition and *grievances*: For, by them he became ſenſible of other mens Oppreſſions: By the reality of his own *wrongs*, he perceived what juſt cauſe others might have to complain: Alſo, without particularizing his *ſufferings*, they could not probably be redreſſed; and no reaſonable or conſcientious man, will grudge him the liberty of inſerting a leaf or two into that *diſcourſe*, which was for the relief of many, together with himſelf; compoſed ſolely at his coſt and labour, without the leaſt contribution thereunto vouchſafed, either by them or any other: For he may ſay on his own behalf, as *Uliſſes* did, when he pleaded for the armour of *Achilles* before the *Grecians*.

——*meaque*

——*meaque hæc facundia ſiqua eſt*
Quæ nunc pro domino, pro vobis ſæpe locuta eſt,
Invidia careat, bona nec ſua quiſque recuſet.
—— Do not envy my *pen*,
Which often for the weal of other men
Hath been employed, if that otherwhile,
I, make uſe of it for mine own availe.

But, the means hitherto provided for the relief of this *Remonſtrant*, and other *Purchaſers* and *Lenders*, doth not yet appear likely to have that gracious effect, which was by them expected, and intended by his Majeſty. Therefore, he prayes it may not be offenſively taken, if he declares plainly, what the effects thereof hitherto are, and may probably be hereafter, according to his underſtanding: For, his purpoſe being to expreſs nothing but in order to the preſervation of himſelf and others from deſtruction, (nor to be more bold in language, then the heedleſneſs of this *Generation* ſhall conſtrain) it cannot be juſtly conceived that he would wilfully inſert any word or clauſe, which might by giving juſt offence, deprive him of that benefit which he deſireth to attain; unleſs it be thought his *Oppreſſions* have made him *mad*; (as many wiſer men have been, who ſuffered leſs) and if ſo, he is rather an Object of *pitty*, then of *diſpleaſure*. He is thankful to his *Majeſtie*, for not taking thoſe advantages at large, which were *providentially* put into his hands; and gratefully acknowledgeth the *Indulgence* vouchſafed to *Purchaſers* by his *Commiſſion*, for mediating on their behalf, manifeſt his *compaſſion* to be more then their own *Truſtees* have expreſſed; eſpecially his often haſtening the *Act of General pardon*, and deſiring the *Parliament*

to make the *Plaiſter* as large as the *ſoares*; nevertheleſs, the *Inſtrument* drawn up to thoſe purpoſes, ſeems not to have paſſed through their hands, who are ſo ſenſible of his Peoples Grievances, as he himſelf was, nor is it poſſible that he can in ſo ſhort a time have that full cognizance, which he may have hereafter, of the true ſtate of thoſe many *differing Cauſes*, which are to come under conſideration, in relation to *Purchaſers*; and therefore the means by him intended may be ſo defective without his default, that many will be more damnified, then relieved thereby. This is found and felt by experience already. The work impoſed is too heavy for ſo few *work-men*, in regard the *Commiſſioners* are perſons of honour, who have other weighty affairs which will divert them, and take up ſo much time, that not a few being already quite ruined by delay; many more will be deſtroyed before their *Cauſes* can be heard and determined. Some of them have ſo little whereby to ſubſiſt, that they cannot ſpare out of it, ſo much as the charge of Solicitation will require. And it is feared, moſt of thoſe who are yet able, will be wheeled round in ſuch *perpetual motions*, as they were at *Worceſter* and *Drury-houſes*, to their impoveriſhing alſo, by the long conteſts which will ariſe from ſeveral interfering *Securities*, *Intereſts*, and *Claims*, ſtill multiplying debates and expences; when ſo many thouſands, as are engaged by *Original Purchaſes* and *Subcontracts*, ſhall from all parts betwixt Saint *Michaels-mount* and *Barwick* (ſome of them two or three hundred miles from their habitations) flock together, with witneſſes, Counſel and Sollicitours, to their great coſt here, and neglect of their buſineſſes at home. Such a multitude cannot but ſo obſtruct each others proceedings, that many who are beſt able to bear the burthen,

burthen, may be ſore ſtraitened and depreſſed, by loſſes in one place, and expences in another; by ſeeing *Officers* and making *Friends*, for that which will amount to little or nothing at the laſt: For, of much of thoſe Lands which were Purchaſed, as aforeſaid, the *Prelates* have not power to make Leaſes for longer term, then during their own lives; and there being no Rule ſetled by *Parliament*, whereby final Agreements may be made (in that, and ſome other Caſes, without diſpute) the *Purchaſers* will have as queſtionable *Titles* hereafter, as they have now; and be perhaps all dead or beggared, before any ſatisfaction ſhall be enjoyed.

As for the Lands claimed by the *Prelates*, there is little hope the late *Purchaſers* will have any conſiderable redreſs in lieu of them, if the ſaid *Prelates* be permitted to proceed as they begin; for (except two or three of them only, as this *Remonſtrant* hath heard, who perhaps deſire the *Epiſcopal Function* ſhould be reduced to the Priſtine Conſtitution) ſo ambitious are they of Preheminence, and ſo greedily hunt after immoderate Riches in their old age, that regarding neither the tears of the oppreſſed, nor Orders of *Parliament*, nor the *Kings* gracious condeſcentions publiſhed on the behalf of *Purchaſers*; they following the dictates of their own Avarice, take up the whole Rents, make forcible Entries, grant Leaſes to them who will give moſt, and Arbitrarily ſeize the eſtates of the *Purchaſers*, before the times limited are expired, or the *Kings Commiſſioners* can have time to take their Cauſes into conſideration; and before many can have means to preſent them, or be in a capacity to treat. This *Remonſtrant* in particular, having now loſt about eight years 300. *l. per an.* in a Purchaſe of their Lands who were hererofore called *Delinquents*, which Lands coſt

him as good as almoſt twenty years *Purchaſe* in ready money. Alſo 1681. *l.* 15. *s.* 8. *d.* charged by *Ordinance* upon the Exciſe in Courſe, which, with the Intereſt thereof, hath been eighteen years almoſt, unpaid. And now he is in danger to loſe totally between five and ſix hundred pounds *per. an.* more, in *Prelates Lands*, in Poſſeſſion and Reverſion; part whereof coming into poſſeſſion the laſt year, being unſtockt, and not demiſable, by reaſon the Title is diſparaged, hath coſt him in Taxes, with other duties and neceſſary diſburſments therein diſpended, more then twice ſo much as he could raiſe out of them, by occaſion of the ſaid *Prelates* forcible Intruſions: The remainder of this *Remonſtrants* ſtock and goods, were by Attachments out of the ſaid *Prelates* own *Court*, (without arreſt, or any cauſe formerly made known, according to equity, or the *Common-Law* of this Land) illegally (and ſome of them, as he thinks, felonioufly) taken in the night, and carried away, by the ſaid *Prelates* Officers or Agents, being ſtrangers, without any known *lawful Officer*. And, the ſaid *Remonſtrant* neither being at home, nor having the liberty of his perſon, or any other means left to defend himſelf againſt ſuch outrages, or to maintain his family, but by charity, is by this uſage, and that which hath been thereby occaſioned, deprived of as much of his eſtate, as being ſold to the value, and proportionably diſtributed, might have ſatisfied moſt of his perſonal debts, had it not been ſo torn from him by ſome unconſcionable *Creditors*, and the ſaid Officers maliciouſly confederating together, to the taking away, at the third part of the value, the remainder of his houſhold-ſtuff, wearing apparrel, victuals, and the beds whereon his wife, children, and ſervants lay; as alſo the wood in his yard, without any other Authority, but

Will

Will and *Pleaſure*; for the uſe of the Prelates now *Tenant*, who being reputed (perhaps becauſe a Papiſt) a true Son of the Church, is now ſeated upon that Farm, which he hath forcibly ſeized; ſome of his ſaid *Agents* being ſo ſhameleſs, as to make anſwer, when the illegality of their proceedings was objected, that this *Remonſtrant* ſhould not be left able to proſecute his remedy at Law, or words to that effect, which they have made good: Inſomuch, that this *Remonſtrant*, is compelled in his old age, to ſhut up himſelf in a lone room, without a ſervant, night and day, both in ſickneſs and health; his wife neceſſitated, above fifty miles diſtant, to keep poſſeſſion, with her maide in a naked houſe, ſtanding far from neighbours, (and much farther from honeſt men) and his children and ſervants being ſcattered, to ſeek harbour and livelihood where they can get it. This, and much worſe, is the *Remonſtrants* preſent outward condition; by delay of the Relief hoped for, and by his being thereby diſabled to proſecute means of redreſſing his grievances any further: In the like condition (as he believeth) many thouſands are at this day among the ſaid *Purchaſers*, *Lenders*, and ſuch as fall under them, by the ruine of thoſe who are impoveriſhed by their wants.

For, the hopes which they had eight or nine Moneths paſt, of a timely *ſettlement*, hath had ſo ſlow a progreſs, that many who had fair expectations, and beſt means to improve them, begin to be afraid, it may ſucceed at laſt, as in an old Tale, it is ſaid, befell to him, who brought a large piece of cloth to his Taylor, to make him ſuch garments as it would extend unto; who at firſt, told him, it would make a very good ſute, cloak, and coat; but after it had been in his cuſtody awhile, he ſaid to his cuſtomer, it would make but a ſute and

a cloak; after that, it would make but a cloak; being kept a little longer, he could make but a ſute of it; after a few dayes more, but a ſhort coat only; and at laſt, no more but a very fair *Cloth-button*: And perhaps, with ſuch a Reſult ſome of the *Purchaſers* may button up their baggs of Papers and Evidences (if the *King* take not their Cauſes into his ſpecial Conſideration) and go home three times more damnified, then by loſing all at firſt, without more coſt and trouble: For, when they have ſummed up the money, paid for their *Purchaſes* at firſt; for paſſing their *Conveyances* and Concomitant charges; *Intereſt* and Brockage for money borrowed; expences in ſuites at *Common Law* and *Chancery* thereby occaſioned; as alſo in Conteſts many years before *Committees* and *Commiſsioners for removing Obſtructions*; and thereto added what it will coſt now, before there will be a final ſettlement, it may poſſibly amount to ſo much, that the recompence will be leſs worthy of thanks, then a peremptory denyal would have been at the beginning; as this *Remonſtrant* hath found by experience; who verily believeth, that after his *Demands* and *Receipts* had been ſtated by the *Committee of Accounts for the Kingdom*, examined again by *the Committee of the Navy*; Re-examined by a *ſelect Committee of Parliament*, and upon that three-fold Examination, had 3950. *l.* reported to be due unto him, and payment then ordered; if he had totally quitted the ſaid debt, and hoped no more for it, he had been at leaſt 5000. *l.* richer, then he is at this day: For, if delayes occaſioning expences with the loſs of eighteen years time, and the money miſpent, and ſo long forborn, had been avoided, and other wayes employed, he might in that ſpace have turned it to more conſiderable profit. The Proverb ſaith, *He that*

gives

gives quickly, gives twice. A benefit vouchſafed ſpeedily, and ſeaſonably, may be doubled, yea tripled thereby, (as Opportunities may occur) whereas, by being long delayed, *Suites, Forfeitures, Intereſt*, or ſuch like, may ſo augment damages, that twice ſo much afterward, will not be ſo beneficial, as a quarter thereof might have been at the firſt; and to deſtroy men under a colour of doing *Juſtice*, and ſhewing *Mercy*, is like the *Cats* playing with the *Mouſe*, (a making ſport at other mens miſeries) and one of the greateſt cruelties in the world. In brief, by what is afore-expreſſed, this *Remonſtrant* hath neither the liberty of his perſon to attend the *Commiſsioners*, nor wherewith, but by Charity, to ſubſiſt, much leſs to bear the charge of proſecution, ſo long as his cauſe may poſſibly be undetermined; yea, it will be little better then putting him all that while upon the Rack, yet peradventure be no more available at laſt, then meat ſet before a dead man.

But, all this Remonſtrating is to little purpoſe, except ſomewhat may be propoſed, out of which an *Expedient* ſhall be raiſed, whereby the *Publick-Faith* may be redeemed, and the *Grants* and *Securities* aforementioned be made good, or elſe a ſatisfaction given in ſuch manner, that particular Animoſities may be allayed, without overburthening, or enfeebling the whole *Body-Politick*; which this *Remonſtrant* thinking poſſible, will contribute his conceptions thereunto, though perhaps he may have little or no thanks, (but a jear) for his labour. And, though he be ſo broken in his eſtate, and overcharged with muſings in his mind, that he can hardly compoſe himſelf for ſuch a ſerious *contrivement*, yet he may ſtammer out ſuch *notions*, that wiſer men leſs diſturbed, may either make more practi-

call, or at leaſt, thereby take hints to diſcover and proſecute a better *Expedient* of their own: For, the moſt *prudent men* ſometimes overſee, what a *Fool* takes notice of. The only way to ſettle an univerſal Peace and Concord, is to ſatisfie all *Intereſts*, as much as may be; eſpecially in things neceſſary to a competent ſubſiſtence, even to the anſwering of their expectations, who are moſt carnal, ſo far forth as they are juſt; in regard they are likely to be moſt troubleſom. *Venter non habet aures*, and there are now ſo many laying claim to that Intereſt, as will make it dangerous, to exaſperate them all at once; and will be injuſtice to leave any of them unſatisfied, as touching reaſonable demands. They whoſe *Grievances* are moſt conſiderable, are ſuch as have *Lent* or *Contributed* upon the *Publick-Faith*; *Souldiers*, who adventured their lives in the ſervice of the *Parliament*; *Purchaſers* of Lands or eſtates belonging to the *King*, *Queen*, *Prince*, *Prelates*, or thoſe who heretofore adhered to the *King* againſt the *Parliament*, and ſuch as had either Grants of Eſtates, or *Parliamentary Securities*, for payment of debts declared to be due unto them. It cannot be now expected, that the Lands of the *King*, *Queen*, *Prince*, or ſuch as were heretofore reputed *Delinquents*, ſhould be enjoyed by the ſaid *Purchaſers*, except ſo far forth only, as in conſideration of Improvements, the former *Owners* will freely, of their own nobleneſs, give way thereunto, if we look for a perfect concord on their part. And then, how the *Purchaſers* of thoſe Lands, and the *Parliaments* other *Creditors* may be ſatisfied, a courſe muſt be other wayes provided; which will be the more eaſily effected, and the leſs burthenſom, if the *Purchaſers* of *Prelates eſtates*, may have ſatisfaction out of the ſame Lands; as this *Remonſtrant* conceives, in equity

and

and prudence, they ought to have, and also may have, to their reasonable contentment, with an addition of honour and advantage, both to the *King* and *Nation*, without wrong to the *Episcopal Function*, being constituted and confirmed according to *Primitive Ordination*, derived from the Canon of GOD's Word; such an *Episcopacy* never being intended (as this *Remonstrant* believeth) to be exploded out of the Church of *England* by the *Solemn League and Covenant*; or to be barred out of *Scotland*, if the persons were regulated and qualified, as they are charactered by Saint *Paul*.

Those *Temporalities* which they claim as *Prelates*, belonged not to them by *divine right* as *Bishops*: but, were conferred in time of *Popery*, to support them as *Barons*, when they were authorized to sit in *Parliament*: which Priviledge, being taken away by *Act of Parliament*, assented unto by the late *King*, that work is at an end: and *work* and *wages* being *Relatives*, cease both together. *Temporal* and *Spiritual Lords* in a *Parliament*, resemble plowing with Oxen and Asses in one teeme, and by weaving (as it were) Linnen and Wollen together, may make that *Linsey-woolsey*, both in Civil and Spiritual things, as will be pleasing neither to GOD nor men. The *services* whereto the *Bishops* were chiefly ordained, may be best performed, (and with least obstruction to civil transactions) in *Synods*, or *National Councils* and *Conventions*, where no Lordly titles or usurpations are to be claimed or allowed: nor any *Precedencies*, but for *Orders sake* only, lest *Precedencies*, and *temporal Dignities*, may overawe their *fellow-members*, and disadvantage the *Truth*. *Bishops* being regulated, as aforesaid, and exercising only a *Primacy of Order*, as *Speakers* in *Parliaments*, *Prolocutors* in *Synods*, and *Presidents* in *Councils*, ought

to be reſtored; and a competent and an honourable maintenance might be provided for them out of thoſe legal perquiſites, which heretofore belonged unto them *quatenus Biſhops*, (and conſiſt with an *Evangelical Diſcipline*) none of which are ſold from them: and out of thoſe *Impropriations*, which they formerly Leaſed for Fines and yearly Rents, giving a *Plow-mans wages* to their poor *Curates*. Theſe *Impropriations*, if they might be timely reſerved from being again ſo miſdiſpoſed of by their Avarice, would amount to a ſufficiency: yea, and to a far larger Revenue, then many *Biſhops* formerly had, if they were prudently diſtributed; and would be likewiſe a quieter ſubſiſtance, and ſomewhat more proper to their *Calling*; becauſe a maintenance ſettled upon the *Miniſtry* by the Laws of the Land. Moreover, to enlarge that *maintenance*, convenient places of reſidence, with Demeaſnes and annual Rents enabling them to be hoſpitable, and incouragers of others to Piety and Vertue, might and would be afforded, by the ſaid *Purchaſers*, out of what was ſold unto them. And ſuch a Portion, being ſettled on them, and their ſucceſſors, by *King* and *Parliament*, as the *Donations* of *Nurſing Fathers* of the *Church*, (and not derived from heatheniſh or other ſuperſtitious beginnings diſhonourable to God, and ſcandalous to Religion) would redound more to their honour, then their *Baronies* and *Lordſhips*; be more comfortable to their Conſciences, when they muſt reſign their *Biſhopricks*; make their *Miniſtry* more effectual to their particular Flocks, and to the preſerving of Unity in *Fundamentals*, between thoſe *Congregations* which are of differing judgements; render their *poſterities* more proſperous, and their *perſons* more beloved both of GOD and men. The worſt this *Remonſtrant* wiſheth,

even

even to those *Prelates*, who do but pretend to be the *Bishops of Christ*, is, that they truly were so; and that they had humility enough to accept of such an offer, on condition he wholly left his hope of repossessing his said *Purchase*, though he thinks it more possible for him to be restored thereto, then for them long to enjoy that wherewith they seem absolutely invested. Let this be well considered; for though the *Prelates* and their *Favourers*, term him *a Scribling Fool*; The tatlings of *Children* and *Fools*, are sometimes to be listned unto by wise and grave men, who know they often speak *Truth*, when others either will not, or dare not.

When the *King* shall by experience know, how useless the *Prelacy* is, both to him, and to the Church of GOD; and how serviceable such as are called *Bishops* may be, when reduced to the Canon of the *Word*, it is hoped, he may perswade them to submit thereto, and that some of them, will be so convinced in Conscience, as to perceive it will be more honour to GOD and them, then disparagement to their persons, to evidence the power of Truth upon themselves in an humble conformity, and restrain them from unmercifully seeking to enrich themselves by the destruction of so many Families as are now in danger of perishing by their immoderate Avarice. As for the rest of the *Hierarchie*, this *Remonstrant* cannot imagine to what good end they may be continued, which will be equivalent to the preventing the thousandth part of that mischief, which will ensue the dispossessing of those who have Purchased their estates. *Deans* and *Chapters*, with their *Appendants*, are a *Whimsey* of a late invention, as now constituted, which the *Primitive Ages* neither knew, nor perhaps thought of: A *Plant* which our *Heavenly Fa-*

ther never planted in his *Church*; nor are they neceſſarily pertinent to the ſervice of GOD, or to the edifying of *mankind* in *Piety* or *Morality*; but rather burthenſom and ſcandalous. Moſt of thoſe vaſt *Revennes* which they claim as ſacred, (if not all) are no more worthy to be reputed *Holy things*, then the price of dogs, or wages of *Strumpets*, as I have elſewhere ſaid, in regard much of them were obtained by merchandizing for the ſouls of men, and were Sacrifices to the *Devil*, worſe then *Sacriledge*, given (or exacted) by their cnnning *Brokers*, in derogation from *Chriſts* meritorious *Paſsion*, for expiating of Adulteries, Murthers, and other hainous crimes: Which if they could make evident to be *ſacred Offerings*, and accepted of God as truly ſuch, they might hope ere long to make men believe, that their houſes of Office, their very *dunghills*, yea, their *ſins*, or any thing they pleaſed ſo to term, were alſo ſacred. But, what reaſonable man can imagine, why ſuch an impertinency ſhould be preſerved, when the State is ſo neceſſitated, though it were ſome way uſeful, and when ſo many thouſands of ſerviceable and innocent perſons may be deſtroyed by the readmiſſion thereof? Whereto are they neceſſary? If you ſuppoſe it be to elect *Biſhops*, when they ſhall be reduced to what they Originally were and ought to be; that *Conſtitution*, will admit of no ſuch *Election*: Such as now are, may be as well choſen by the King himſelf, as by vertue of his Letters directed to the *Deans* and *Chapters*; or more properly, by his *Conge deſlere* to the *Paſtors* of the reſpective *Dioceſſes*; which *Presbyters* may likewiſe officiate, (if need be) at their *Cathedrals* by turns (having proviſion made for them at ſuch times) more to the edifying of the People then heretofore: And their *Cathedrals* which, (to ſpeak truth)

are

are more pertinent to the Civil honour and magnificence of the *Nation*, then eſſential to the Worſhip of GOD; (and being built, ought rather to be upheld, for decency and conveniency, then wholly neglected) and may ſo be, without any great burthen to the *Purchaſers*, by contributing toward their Repair a yearly Rent to that purpoſe, if the old Fabrick Lands be not ſufficient, and unſold: Theſe may alſo, be of uſe for pious exerciſes and devout meetings, more to the glory of GOD, and the edifying of his People, then at preſent they are, by thoſe irreverent perſons, who ſerve their own ſelves only, under a pretence of ſerving GOD, with *empty ounds*, *Tautologies*, *vain Repetitions*, and *loud vociferations*, mingled with abominable prophaneneſs: For, this *Remonſtrant* heard it lately credibly averred, that one of thoſe, who is to overſee and direct thoſe who ſing in the *Quire*, hearing a diſcord in their Muſick, was ſo ſerious in his *Muſicall Devotion*, that moved to indignation, he paſſionately ſwore aloud in theſe words, *By God, a ſnarle:* And that another, angrily calling upon the *Boyes* to raiſe their Voices higher, curſed them with four ſeveral great Curſes within a little ſpace, whileſt they were chanting out their *Divine Service*, (as they call it) becauſe they anſwered not his expectation. Oh! *abominable zeal.*

But, ſhould it be granted, that GOD required their *Will-Worſhip*; that, they were conſcientiouſly devout therein; that, their *Prelaticall Conſtitution*, at leaſt were not ſcandalous, & that their large poſſeſſions were the real charitable Donatives of truely devout Benefactors, irrevocably ſet apart from common uſe (not one of which particulars can be proved) yet, little or nothing conſiderable, is or ever was performed, to ſuch pious

uſes

uſes as are pretended, or were intended. For, by their own *Canons* (or, by ſuch as they approve of, and will be conformable unto, when it may be for their perſonal advantages) there is but a third part of their yearly Profits due to them. One third is by thoſe *Canons* to be employed in maintaining their *Cathedral-Churches* and *dwelling-Houſes*, with the ſervices and neceſſaries to them belonging: Another third, is to be for relief of the *Poor* and *Strangers*; and a charitable Biſhop of *York*, (as the *Remonſtrant* remembers) was ſo far from the mind of our *Prelates* in theſe dayes, that to relieve the Poor in a time of Famine, he ſold away moſt part of the Utenſils and Ornaments of the Churches in his Dioceſs. A third part only, of the Revenues of the *Cathedrals* and *Prelates*, was to have been made uſe of for themſelves and their Families, which hath nigh quite ſwallowed up the other two parts: For, it is well enough remembred, how ruinous many of their *Edifices* were, before the beginning of the late war, and how ſlovenly kept in ſome places: It is alſo well known, that the *Poor* were uſually relieved with little more then the ſcraps of their ſuperfluities; and that the *Strangers* by them entertained, during the dayes of their *Reſidency*, were but their fellow *Prebends*, their *kindred*, their *familiars*, and now and then *a bold Gueſt*, who had no need of their *Hoſpitality*; and why ſhould many honeſt men, more ſerviceable then they, be ſtarved or beggared, by being deprived of what they bought of the *Nations Repreſentative*; that ſuch large Revenues might be ſhared by a few, and conſumed to ſo little purpoſe? With what confuſion of face, will theſe pretenders to *Piety* and *Hoſpitality* appear, when *Chriſt Jeſus*, perſonated in this life by their *Conſcience*; or, when he ſhall hereafter in his own perſon,

ſay

ſay unto ſuch; *Depart from me ye workers of iniquity*: For, having large *Patrimonies* intruſted with you, to ſupply the wants of the members of his *myſtical body*, they neither fed him, when he was hungry, except with *ſtones* and *Scorpions*, inſtead of *bread* and *fiſh*; nor gave him drink when thirſty, except mingled with Vinegar and Gall; nor cloathed him when naked, but only with ſuperſtitious raggs, or elſe Robes impurpled with his own blood; Nor houſed him when harbourleſs, except in a priſon, becauſe he approved not of their *Vanities*, *Avarice* and *Ambition*.

This *Remonſtrant*, is not ſo cruel to Beaſts nouriſhed out of curioſity, and for mens pleaſures only, as to ſtarve them when they are bred; much leſs that men unprofitably employed at the Publick coſt, ſhould be left deſtitute of a competent ſubſiſtence, when that abuſe is reformed; nor ought ſuch in his judgement to enjoy more then a juſt competency, much leſs ten times more then better deſerving perſons. All the whole *Hierarchy* of this *Nation* (as this *Remonſtrant* is informed) doth not conſiſt of a much greater number, then thoſe *Prophets* of whom *Jezebel* fed four hundred every day from her table; if ſo many of thoſe now in being, ſhall enjoy a *plurality* of *Prebendaries*, *Parſonages*, *Vicaridges* and *Spiritual promotions*, as did heretofore: For ſome had two or three *Dignitaries*, ſome more; and if the *Hexameter* of this well known Diſtich be a true memorial of it, one of them had five beſide his Income by Uſury; (For the *Pentameter* concerned him not.)

Uſury, St. Dunſtans, Pauls, Windſor, Salsbury, Chriſt-Church,
Briſtol, Weſtcheſter, Banbury, Bangor, Aſaph.

The *Impropriations* only, formerly belonging to the *Prelates*, (which are all nigh out of Leaſe) are worth yearly (as this *Remonſtrant* is credibly informed) an hundred forty and two thouſand pounds. The *Parſonages* and *Vicaridges*, which beſide their *Cathedral Dignitaries*, the *Deans*, *Prebends*, *Archdeacons*, and ſome of the *Biſhops* had in *Commendam*, being no *Parſonages* or *Vicaridges* of the leaſt value, (if they have *pluralities* as formerly) may be worth to each individual perſon, between two and three hundred pounds *per an.* at leaſt, one with another; to which being added the Profits of their *Spirtual Functions* and *Juriſdictions*, and their *Temporalities* now repoſſeſſed with vaſt improvements, will probably amount to above a thouſand pound yearly, for every individual *Prelate*. And what a barbarous cruelty were it, under colour of a *Mock-Piety*, to deſtroy many Families, for the ſuperfluous enriching of every one of theſe? To ſtarve a whole *Hive of Bees*, to feed a ſingle Drone? and peradventure, to the occaſioning of that, which may draw after it a worſe conſequent. For, theſe (as the *Remonſtrant* believeth) are one kind of thoſe *Locuſts* which came out of the ſmoak of the *Bottomleſs Pit*, and were in part driven hence about the end of the laſt hundredth year, as a noyſom peſt. Therefore, this *Remonſtrant* hopes, that you whom it concerns, will conſider how imprudent an Act it will be thought by *unbyaſſed* men, in this and future generations, needleſly to hazzard the confuſions, deſpairations, exaſperations, and deſtruction of ſo many thouſands of Families as may be impoveriſhed, to the impoveriſhing of as many thouſands more by their poverty, if the ſale of Cathedral Lands ſhould be made void to the ſaid *Purchaſers*, for the ſuperfluous enriching of an inconſiderable number of uſeleſs perſons;

ſons; and for the pleaſing of a few, whoſe Claim and Intereſt dies with their perſons, to the diſcontent of many whoſe right will never die, but ſtill revive, and continue for ever in their heirs; yea, and to do it contrary to Laws and Preſidents, for confirmation of the like ſales, judged agreeable to Juſtice and Equity, by Princes, Parliaments, and other grave Councils, upon mature deliberation: And it is hoped alſo, if (as report goes) the *Prelates* intend out of their vaſt *Fines* and *Rents*, to raiſe and maintain two Regiments of Horſe in the Kings ſervice, to be continued by his favour in that which they repoſſeſs; it will be perceived, that they would but ſtick him down a *feather*, in lieu of the *Gooſe* which they have gotten: For, the *Incomes* of two of their *Cathedral Revenues*, will yearly defray that expence, and leave thoſe *Proprietors* of them, more then ever they heretofore poſſeſſed: And perhaps the King will take notice alſo, that (if it tend not to the beginning of another *Prelatical war*) it is at beſt offered but to make ſuch a *diverſion* for the preſent, as antiently ſucceeded, when to prevent the intention that former *Parliaments* had to take away their large Poſſeſſions for *Publick Uſe*; they then offered to their Kings a contribution, toward the recovering their right in *France*, or toward regaining of the *Holy-Land*, (as they called it) which tended only to their own advantage, though reſpect to them was thereby pretended.

This *Remonſtrant* could alleadge much more, which is of Publick concernment, both in reference to what is laſt mentioned, and to the *Publick-Faith*; but, the times will not bear it: much *Reaſon*, as well as much *Learning*, would make ſome to grow *mad*; and it were imprudence to expreſs more then can be born, to the

rendring of that leſs effectual which is expreſſed. He had lived 36. years, when the laſt great Peſtilence broke in, whereof he was a *Remembrance* to this *Nation*; and having ſurvived ſince that time 36. years more, hath ſeen enough to give him cauſe to fear, that a worſe infection is beginning; which if GOD's extraordinary mercy prevents it not (by ſhortning thoſe dayes for his *Elects* ſake) may continue at leaſt 36. years together; even a *Spiritual Peſtilence*, intermixed with many natural Plagues and Diſtempers: For, ſome have begun to make way for it, by endeavouring how they may divert us, from heeding the *True Antichriſt*, and to draw this *Generation*, to look after a *new Antichriſt*, by ridiculouſly confining *him*, and the two *witneſſes*, to *perſons*, *fraternities* and *places*, which neither conſiſt with thoſe *Terms*, *Qualifications*, *Tranſactions*, *Powers*, *civil Death* and *Reviving*, which do manifeſt them, according to what is revealed in *GOD's Word*; nor with that *univerſal Relation* which they have to the *Catholick Church*, and to the overthrow of the enemies thereof; as will appear when that impudence is more evident; and when to ſee her deluſions, and to hate and proſecute the WHORE, GOD ſhall put it into the heart of that King, with whom the *tenth part* of the myſterious *Babylon* ſhall fall from her.

As for that *ſcare-crow* of a pretended *Sacriledge*, wherewith fools only are affrighted, and with which the *Prelates* ignorantly (if not impudently) charged as well many preceding *Kings*, *Parliamenes*, and perſons of Honour and Integrity, as the late Purchaſers of Cathedral Lands, it will ſhortly appear ſo ridiculous a *Bug-bear*, that the Publiſhers of that fancy, will be aſhamed (if they have any ſhame) to hope they ſhall be able to perſwade his Majeſty, and this Nation, that alienating

alienating of their Prelatical poſſeſſions from the *Church* (as they call their *Corporations*) is the ſin of *Sacriledge*. For, this *Remonſtrant* is ſo confident on his part, of the contrary, that if the *Prelate* who claims that which he hath Purchaſed, will thereupon hazzard but half the value in other lands, and allow him but as competent and wiſe Judges in the Caſe, as the *Parliament* of *England*, and the Pope of *Rome* were in Queen *Maries* dayes (when the like Sales were queſtioned) the ſaid *Remonſtrant*, if judgement paſs againſt him, will reſign all that he hath Purchaſed of the ſaid Lands for a farthing : Or if that all the *Prelates* be able to prove his ſaid Purchaſe *Sacriledge* ; or if he be not able to prove that many *Prelates* who now or heretofore poſſeſſed ſuch Lands, as aforeſaid, by colour of a *divine Right*, did not more ſacrilegiouſly get them, enjoy them, and diſpoſe of them, then the late *Purchaſers*, (to wit) when they alienated them for 99. years, to bribe themſelves into a *Deanary* or *Biſhoprick*, or when they conferred them in Fee, or by Leaſe to their *Kindred*, *Minions* or *Concubines*. Much more might be added to evidence theſe things, and to vindicate thoſe from aſperſion, who have bought the ſaid *Prelates* Lands, or alienated them by Publick Authority ; but ſince I had written that which precedes, I had view of a Printed ſheet, compoſed by a learned and judicious Author, and entituled, *An Apology for Purchaſers of Lands, late of Biſhops, Deans* and *Chapters*, wherein ſo much is alleadged to juſtifie the alienation of Sales, and Purchaſes of Lands belonging to Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and that eſtates granted by Parliament, as aforeſaid, ought by *Reaſon*, *Law* and *Preſidents* to be made valid : that I might have ſpared this *Remonſtrance*, if I had not known by long experience, that men who are ſleepy,

(or very buſie in ſerious proſecutions tending to their own profit or pleaſure) will ſeldom heed or hear *Reaſon*, until awakened by ſome unuſual *noiſe*.

It appears then by the *Premiſes*, that the Purchaſers of Lands belonging heretofore to the Prelates, may have a ſatisfactory proportion of the ſaid Lands, and yet leave enough to be an honourable maintenance for Biſhops, regulated according to their Primitive Inſtitution: and that they who had debts ſecured by Ordinances or Orders of Parliament upon the *Publick-Faith*, and ſuch as Purchaſed the eſtates of the King, Queen, Prince, or of them whoſe eſtates were ſold to pay Publick debts, for adhering to the King, muſt be ſatisfied by ſome other Expedient, to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which may elſe befall to the diſturbance of Common Peace, by diſcontenting the one Party or the other: For indeed, till there be a mutual forgiveneſs, as aforeſaid, and ſuch a contrivement, that every man may poſſeſs his own, we in vain ſhall otherwiſe endeavour, for a ſettled peace.

Now, to compleat the ſatisfaction deſired, there are many hundred thouſand Acres in this Kingdom, in *Forreſts*, *Chaſes*, and other waſte grounds, which being divided betwixt *Lords* and *Tenants*, reſerving a portion out of their proportions, would amount (with a little contribution out of their eſtates, who have no Intereſt in thoſe Lands, that all might help to bear the burthen) not only ſufficiently to diſcharge all Publick debts aforementioned, and to give a competent allowance to the remaining *Purchaſers*; but advance ſuch an improvement alſo, in corn, graſs, cattle, wood, and timber, for fireing, building of Ships, and houſes, in time to come, (as proviſion may be made in Parliament) that might yearly feed a million more of people, encreaſe *Trade*,

ſupply

ſupply other defects, produce many conveniencies, and prevent not a few miſchiefs: For, that Land which is not worth ſix-pence by the acre yearly, would be improved to five ſhillings *per annum*, that of five ſhillings to ten, that of ten to twenty, and ſome to much more; and, by that means, likewiſe, one of thoſe *previous ſigns* of that *righteous Government*, ſpecified in the *Remonſtrants* *BRITAINS-GENIUS* long ſince publiſhed, might perhaps be thereby eminently fulfilled (to wit) that,

—— Oxen *of the largeſt Northern breed*
Should fatted be, where Sheep *now ſcarcely feed.*

This *Expedient* would be juſtly offenſive to none (as our caſe now ſtands) but, to men of corrupt *principles*, and ſuch as neither know nor underſtand the true *Intereſt* which *Publick* or *private perſons* have in ſuch lands; or, who are not willing to loſe thoſe *opportunities*, which they have by the near ſcituation of their dwellings, to take wholly to their own uſe, what belongs in a larger meaſure to other men, living at a farther diſtance: Or, it may be ſome poor people unlawfully intruding upon thoſe waſtes, having erected Cottages upon them, to the wrong of their neighbours, will complain thereof: But, it will be without juſt cauſe, ſince they may be better provided for by ſuch a diviſion, both for their own and the Publick welfare, out of thoſe Lands. For, the moſt part of thoſe poor people who have ſo intrenched upon the right of other men, to the impoveriſhing of many Pariſhes, are very wicked and diſſolute perſons, living upon pillfering and ſtealing, or keeping unlicenſed Ale-houſes in blind corners, wherein is more idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and

pro-

prophaneneſs, by night and by day, (eſpecially on the Lords day) then can be imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen it. Alſo, a ſmall ſtarvling breed of Jades, and of other unſerviceable and improveable cattle, eats up yearly many large Commons, without any advantage comparatively conſiderable, with that which might be raiſed by their improvement. The making of Barren Lands fruitful is a *temporal bleſsing*, which may be preparatory for a *Spiritual Mercy*, and a cure of that Curſe which is impoſed, by making a fruitful Land barren, for the ſins of the people that dwell therein. The *Forreſts* and *Chaſes*, (though many have now almoſt forgotten it) were heretofore one of the greateſt Oppreſſions in this Kingdom; and being ſettled, either by Laws, or by Cuſtoms equivalent to Law, may quickly be revived. Beaſts and Beaſtlike men (ſuch as profeſſed Hunters, Falkners and Keepers have been for the moſt part) had well near the ſole benefit of thoſe Forreſts and Chaſes, which were repleniſhed with game. The King received no profit by them, and not much pleaſure for which he paid not yearly, more then it was worth; and his Subjects were ſo miſuſed and tyrannized over by his Officers, that many Gentlemen and others were inforced to forſake their habitations in and about thoſe *Forreſts* and *Chaſes*, to prevent undoing, or avoid their unſufferable inſolencies: And it would be a double *mercy*, if by now ſacrificing them to *Juſtice*, occaſion of the like tyrannie for the future might be taken away, and the Publick-Faith vindicated from ſcandall and violation, by ſatisfying for the remainder of lands ſold as aforeſaid, & for thoſe debts whereunto this *Nation* is liable both in Juſtice and Conſcience. And the *Remonſtrant* humbly prayeth, that by your mediation who are in authority, it may ſpeedily be endeavoured, unleſs

unleſs the Wiſdom of this Generation can find out a better *Expedient*: For, as it was ſaid heretofore, *Jerem.* 21. *v.* 12. to the houſe of *the King of Judah*, ſo, ſaith this Remonſtrant, *Hear the Word of the* LORD, Oh King and People of *England*, *Thus ſaith the* LORD, *Execute Judgement in the morning*, (that is, aſſoon as the cry of oppreſſion comes to your ears, and power into your hands) *and deliver him that is ſpoyled out of the hand of the Oppreſſor, leſt my fury go out like fire, and burn that none can quench it, becauſe of the evil of your doings.* Do *Juſtice*, that you may find *Mercy*, and do not fruſtrate the prayers of diſtreſſed Suppliants, as did they whom GOD hath made exemplary for their failings; nor let all the fore-warnings of your Remembrancer be ſtill in vain, but give ear Oh regardleſs Generation, to what is timely hereby expreſſed relating to your welfare.

This *Remonſtrant*, will now add for a Corollary, to what hath been hereby offered to conſideration, two exemplary executions of GOD's *Judgements*, for Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; and one pattern of righteouſneſs in an Ethnick Prince in times of old, with two or three preſidents out of antiquity, warranting that freedom which he hath aſſumed to expreſs his mind ſo plainly at this time, and then conclude. One of thoſe monitory examples, ſhall be that prodigious Judgement recorded in holy Scripture, to have been executed upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, whoſe ſins were *Pride*, *Idleneſs*, *fulneſs of bread, and not ſtrengthening the hand of the needy*, for which God having viſited them with a *war*, as theſe *Nations* have been, and delivered them by the hand of *Abraham* for *Lots* ſake, whom he providentially ſent to dwell among them, to be both by his counſel and life, a means to bring them to repentance:

They neglecting to improve thoſe mercies, and continuing in their ſins, GOD in a *fair Sun-ſhining morning*, after they had ſpent the preceding night in proſecuting their abominable Luſts, ſuddenly deſtroyed them by a moſt prodigious ſulphurous fire deſcending from heaven, to be an everlaſting memorial of his wrath againſt obſtinate impenitent ſinners; which is ſo well known, that it needs no further illuſtration. The other ſhall be an example no leſs prodigious, commemorated in *Ethnick Hiſtory*, which the Author declared in words to this effect.

In the year of Rome, 720. *and in the* 43. *year of the age of* Marcus Aurelius, *upon the twentieth day of* Auguſt, *about Sun-ſet, at* Palermo *a Sea-Port in the Iſle of* Sicily, *there chanced a thing perilous to them who then ſaw it, and no leſs dreadful to thoſe who heard of it afterward. Whileſt they of* Palermo *were celebrating a great Feaſt with much joy, for the great ſpoyls which they had taken at Sea from the* Numidians, *& which the Pirates purpoſed to divide among them, they were partly prevented by the Magiſtrates and partly by the ſaid accident: For, when the people were returned to their houſes, there appeared in the City a dreadful monſter in this form; he ſeemed to be of the length of three cubits, his head was bald, ſo that his skull did appear; he had no ears, but two holes in his neck, whereby it was ſuppoſed, he heard; he had two wreathen horns like a Goat, his right arm was longer then his left, and his hands were like the hoofs of horſes, his ſhoulders and his head were both of one height, his ſhoulders ſhined like the ſcales of a fiſh, his breaſt was hairie, his face in all things like unto a man, ſave that he had but one eye in the midſt of his fore-head, and but one noſtril; From the middle downward, nothing could be ſeen, becauſe he ſate in a Chariot which concealed it; the*

Chariot

Chariot was in fashion like other Chariots then used, and drawn with four beasts; two Lions before, and two Bears behinde. Within the Chariot stood a great Caldron with ears, wherein this monster sate: It wandred a great space through the City, from one gate to another, casting out sparks of fire; which caused so great a fear throughout the City, that women with child miscarried, and some died out-right with fear: Men and women, great and small, ran to the Temples of Jupiter, Mars, *and* Februa, *making importunate prayers, with sad cries. At the same time the* Pirates *were in the Governours Palace, whose name was* Solyno, *born at* Copua, *and in that Palace the spoyls being kept, thither the Monster came, after it had wandred through the City, and cutting off one of the Lyons ears, wrote with the blood thereof, upon the Palace gate, these Letters,* R. A. S. V. P. I. P. P. *These* Letters *were diversly interpreted, so that the Interpretations were more then the* Letters. *But in the end, a* Propheteſs *greatly esteemed for her science, opened the true meaning of the Letters, saying,* R. *signifieth* Reddite, A. aliena, S. si, V. vultis, P. propria, I. in, P. pace, P. possidere, *which words altogether, make up this sense,* Reddite aliena si vultis propria possidere in pace. Render to other men that which belongs to them, if you will poſſeſs in peace that which is your own. *The Pirates were wonderfully afraid of this command, and the woman highly commended for her exposition (but the injunction was not obeyed.) The Monster went the same night out of the City, unto an high hill named* Jamicia, *and there continued three dayes within sight of the City, the Lions and Bears terribly roaring, and the Monster casting forth flames; during all which time, there was neither bird seen in the air, nor beast in the field near that place, and the people offered great sacrifices to the gods,*

yea their own blood, to appeaſe their wrath. Three dayes being paſſed, there appeared in the Element a marvellous dark cloud, ſeeming to darken the whole earth, and then it began to thunder and lighten ſo terribly, that many men died, and divers houſes fell to the ground; and at laſt there came ſuch a flame of fire from the Monſter, *that it burnt both the Palace where the Pirates were, and all that was therein, conſuming the very ſtones thereof; yea the tempeſt was ſo great, that there fell above two thouſand houſes, and more then ten thouſand perſons died in the Tempeſt. In that place where the Monſter ſtood upon the ſaid hill, the Emperour built a ſumptuous Temple to* Jupiter *in memorial thereof, of which Temple* Alexander *the Emperour made afterward a ſtrong Caſtle. This is taken out of the Epiſtles of* Marcus Aurelius *the Emperour.*

Thus you have an evidence of two witneſſes, one of divine credit, and the other recorded by one of greateſt fame among heathen Philoſophers and Emperours, to ſhew how dangerous it is to neglect Juſtice, and not to render unto every man his own, when God requires it to be done.

Alſo, how honourable it is for Kings and States to do righteous things, and how neceſſary and warrantable it is, both for men oppreſſed, and others thereto conſcientiouſly moved, in ſuch times and caſes as many are in at this preſent, to ſpeak truth plainly and boldly, even to the higheſt Powers on earth, this that follows may illuſtrate. A teſtimonial of the firſt, tending to ſtir up Princes and States to be ambitious of the like glorious vertues, is taken out of an Epiſtle of the ſame Emperour, written to *Antigonus.*

In the twentieth year of my age, I lay (ſaith he) *during the Winter ſeaſon, in the Iſle of* Cheten, *which*

now

now is called Cyprus, *where in former time lived a King, greatly renowned for Clemency and other Heroick vertues, and who lay there buried under four Pillars within a Tomb, whereon was engraven in* Greek Letters, *without the addition of his* name, *(which indeed (* saith my Author *) I could not learn from any one) an Epitaph to this effect,*

Whileſt, by the permiſſion of the gods, I here lived and reigned, my endeavour was to nouriſh *Peace*, and prevent *Diſcord*. I deſired nothing, but what might be vertuouſly obtained, without any vitious practiſes, and what I could acquire by a *peaceable means*, I never ſought to obtain by *war* and *force*; or to procure that by *rigour*, which might poſſibly be gotten by *mildneſs*: I never openly reprooved any man, before I had firſt admoniſhed him in ſecret; neither delighted in *flatterers*, but hated and abhorred *lying*, both in my ſelf and others: I coveted nothing that was *another mans*; but, was content with what was juſtly mine *own*; ſpent not *prodigally*, nor ſpared *nigardly*; nor ever deſerted any friend in his Adverſity. I delighted more to *forgive*, then to *revenge*; and puniſhed not the greateſt offendors, but with *compaſsion*, and much ſorrow in mine own heart. Being born of a *woman*, I was to be ſubject to the condition of *mortals*, and dying, was laid here, to be meat for worms as other men are; and having endeavoured to live a vertuous life, did willingly reſign my Soveraignty to Death, and my *Spirit* to the Gods who gave it.

How thinkeſt thou Antigonus? (ſaid the Author) *What*

an Epitaph *was this ? How glorious was his* life, *how eternall deſerves his* memory *to be ? I ſwear unto thee by the Law of a good man, and as the gods may proſper me, I took not ſo much pleaſure in* Pompey *with his* Jeruſalem, *in* Semeramis *with her* India, *in King* Cyrus *with his* Babylon, *in* Cajus Cæſar *with his* Gaules, *nor in* Scipio *with his* Africa, *as I do with this King of* Cyprus *in his grave : For more glory hath that King there in that ſharp Mountain being dead, then all theſe, and all thoſe in proud* Rome, *who are now alive.*

Now, out of many approved preſidents juſtifying, by the acceptation they had, the juſt freedom which men oppreſſed may challenge, in plainly and boldly declaring their grievances and oppreſſions to the greateſt Potentates of the world, I have choſen two, the firſt of a *Jew*, and the other of a *German*, both which came to *Rome*, to complain unto the Senate there, on the behalf of themſelves and Country-men, oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Their ſpeeches being long, I will here Epitomize ; and firſt, that of the *Jew*, ſpoken to the *Roman* Senate, the third year after *Pompey* ſacked *Jeruſalem*, and whileſt *Valerius Gracchus* governed *Judea*.

Fathers Conſcript, *Your good fortune permitting it, or to ſay better, We forſaking God*, Jeruſalem *which was Lady of all the Cities in* Aſia, *and Mother of all the* Hebrews *in* Paleſtine, *is now ſervant and tributary to* Rome : *whereat we* Jews *need not to marvel, nor ye* Romans *to be proud thereof ; for the higheſt trees are ſooneſt blown down by violent winds. Great were thoſe Armies whereby* Pompey *vanquiſhed us, but greater have our offences been, for which we were forſaken of GOD. I would have you to hear by words, but rather to know it by experience, that we have a merciful God, who can do*

more

more alone, then all your Gods together, and who sheweth compassion, though among fifty thousand there be but ten good men: They are our great offences only, which have made you to be Lords over us; and not your Power or Vertues. For, whilest we agreed in the Unity of Faith in one only God, he prospered us; and so long as the wrath of God is upon us for our sins, so long shall you be Lords over us, and no longer. Then shall we recover what we have lost, and ye shall lose what you have won: And as we are now Commanded, so shall we be then Obeyed; but at present, and whilest we are swayed one way, and ye another, neither can you encline me to the worship of your Gods, neither shall I be able to draw you to believe only in in that one God, the Creator of all things, to whom I refer the disposing of all things. Touching that which I have chiefly to say, Know you, that in times past, Rome had peace with Judea, and Judea with Rome; and being friends, preserved each other in peace; but now it is otherwise, and whilest we sigh for peace, we see, you make preparations for war; whereas, if you would expell those who bear us evil will, and we could know and take heed of them who provoke us to rebell, neither should Rome so much oppress Judea, nor Judea hate Rome. Friendship is lost, not so much for the interest of the one or other, as by their indiscretion who pretend to be Mediators; for if they who take upon them that office, be greater enemies then those between whom a war is begun, they do but cast wood into that fire, which they should quench with water. Since the banishment of Archelaus from Judea, in whose place you sent unto us, Pomponius, Marcus, Rufus, and Valerius, we have had four Plagues, the least wherof was sufficient to poyson all Rome. What greater calamity could happen unto us, then to have Judges sent from Rome, who took up all the evil customs of wicked men,

and

and were themſelves Inventors of new Vices? And when they, who ought to puniſh the lightneſs of youth, are the Ringleaders of Levity? It is openly ſaid in Aſia, *that the Thieves of* Rome, *do hang the Thieves of* Jewry: *and I muſt plainly tell you, we fear not the Thieves which rob us in the woods, ſo much as thoſe* Judges *who ſpoyl us in our houſes. We dread not Robbers on the high-way, nor thoſe who make open war upon us, nor the Plague of Peſtilence half ſo much, as your* corrupt Judges. *To that, which is here heard in the* Senate, *and not ſeen with us, you give more credit, though reported by one who hath been but three Moneths in the* Province, *then to that which is reported by many who have governed thirty years. Conſider ye* Senators, *that if ye were advanced to this dignity becauſe you were the wiſeſt, the moſt honeſt, and moderate among the people, it would appear in your being ſo juſt and vertuous, as not to believe all you hear, ſince you have to do with many of divers* Nations, *whoſe ends and intentions are variable. I ſpeak the truth unto you, your* Judges *have done ſo much injuſtice, and ſhown ſuch ill examples, that they have taught the youth of* Judea, *thoſe vices which our Fathers never heard of, nor we ever ſaw or read of before: And ye being mighty, and reputed noble, diſdain to take counſel of men that be poor, as if to* know much, *and to* have little wealth *or eſteem, were never found together. As ye have given counſel to us, ſo be pleaſed to take counſel from us, and know, that though your* Captains *have won many Realms by ſhedding blood, the way to keep them, is by clemency and mildneſs, without bloodſhed; and therefore pray and adviſe your* Judges, *whom ye ſend to govern ſtrange* Provinces, *that they be more diligent to preſerve the* Common peace, *then to employ themſelves in taking* Fines *and* Forfeitures, *leſt elſe, they ſlander you who ſend them, and deſtroy thoſe whom they*

ſhould

ſhould govern and protect: for the reaſon, why they are not juſtly obeyed, is, becauſe they command unjuſt things: Righteous impoſitions and juſt commands make men humble and obedient, whereas unrighteous commands, make meek and humble men obſtinate and froward; and the more evil things are commanded, the leſs good things are obeyed, when ſuch perſons enjoyn them. Believe this, Oh ye Romans, *that from the levity of thoſe in* Authority, *ſprings the ſhameleſneſs and diſobedience of the* People. *The* Prince, *who impoſeth Government upon thoſe whom he knoweth not to be qualified for ſuch a truſt, intendeth not ſo much that they ſhould do Juſtice to his People, as that they ſhould increaſe his treaſure and ſerve his luſts; but let him be well aſſured, that when he leaſt thinketh of it, his honour and credit will be turned into infamy, his treaſure conſumed, and ſome notable vengeance fall upon him or his poſterity. I having other matters to ſpeak of in ſecret, will here conclude, with this advice, that ye keep us and our Countrey in ſafety; (for which you have hazzarded your ſelves) and that ye do Juſtice impartially, for then we ſhall reverence your commands. Be* merciſull, *and we ſhall be meek; be not cruel in puniſhing our weakneſs, and we ſhall willingly obey your juſt commands; Command not with proud ſeverity, and you ſhall find in us the Love which Fathers may expect from children, and not that treaſon, which* oppreſſive Lords *uſually find in their ſervants.*

Theſe words, though bold and ſharp, were (as the Author ſaith) heard with admiration and approbation of all the Roman Senate.

The other ſpeech which I will here make uſe of, was reported by *Marcus Aurelius* to have been ſpoken in the Senate of *Rome*, in the firſt year of his *Conſulſhip*, by a poor *Countrey-man*, living near the River *Danu-*

bius,

bius, who came to ask Justice of the said *Senate*, against a *Censor* who sorely oppressed the *Germans*: This Rustick was in outward appearance, in some respects, more contemptible then this *Remonstrant*: For, he is described to have been a man who had a small face, great lips, hollow eyes, of a Sun-burnt complexion, having curled hair on his head, and a long thick beard; his rayment and coat was of beasts skins, his shooes of Porcupine-leather, his girdle of Bull-rushes, his head bare, and a club in his hand: In this equippage he entred the *Senate*, whereon though many persons were there attending to have their affairs dispatched, this poor man was admitted before all others, and spake in this manner.

Oh Fathers conscript, *I* Mileno *a* Plow-man, *dwelling near the River* Danubius, *salute you worthy Senators of* Rome, *beseeching the immortal Gods so to govern my tongue this day, that I may speak that which may be for the welfare of my* Countrey, *and encline you to do that which may be for the Publick honour of this Empire, for without the help of GOD, we can neither obtain that which is good, nor avoid what is evil. By divine permission, and our wrathful GOD's forsaking us, such was our evil, and your good hap, that your proud Captains of* Rome, *took our Countrey of* Germany *by force of Arms; of which ye had been prevented, if we had timely appeased the wrath of God. Great is the glory you have atchieved by your* Conquests; *but greater will be your Infamy, by the Cruelties which you have committed: For you shall know, (if you know it not) that when the wicked* Victors *went before the triumphant Chariots crying,* Live, Live, invincible Rome; *the poor* Captives *walked after, saying in their hearts,* Justice, Justice. *Give me leave to speak plainly, your covetousness, Oh ye* Romans, *in taking away*

away other mens goods, hath been ſo extream, and your commands in ſtrange Countries have been ſo extravagant, that neither the depths of the Seas can ſuffice you, nor the wideneſs of the earth ſecure us; and there is no other conſolation left us in our troubles, but our hope that the Gods who are juſt, will execute Juſtice on thoſe who are unjuſt; which aſſurance being wanting, we ſhould with our own hands deſtroy our ſelves, to avoid the inhumanity of our enemies: But, I hope in the juſt Gods, that you, who without juſt cauſe, have caſt us out of our houſes and poſſeſſions, ſhall by them be caſt out, both of Italy and Rome. In my Country, we take it for an infallible Rule, That he who taketh from another man his right, ought in reaſon to loſe his own; and I truſt, that what we have for a Proverb in Germany, you ſhall have here by experience. By my blunt language, and by the homely apparrel that I wear, you may well imagine me ſome rude and barbarous Groom: Yet, I want not reaſon to know who is righteous in keeping his own, and who a tyrant in poſſeſſing what is another mans: For though we plain Country-men cannot ſpeak eloquently, we are not ignorant of the difference between good and evil, or that the Gods will take away in one hour, what Tyrants have been gathering many dayes, and reſtore in one minute, that which good men have loſt many years. Believe me, Ob Romans, Goods unlawfully gotten by the Fathers, are the undoing of their Children; and it is impoſsible, that a wiſe man ſhould find any contentment, in that which is gained unlawfully, and with an ill conſcience. I wonder how he that keepeth another mans goods, can ſleep or reſt one hour, knowing he hath done injury to the Gods, ſcandalized his neighbour, pleaſed his enemies, loſt his friends, and put his perſon in peril, by endamaging thoſe whom he hath robbed. He that taketh away my goods unjuſtly, will the ſame day take away

my life if he can. I ſay and affirm (not caring whether he be Greek, Barbarian, Roman, *preſent or abſent, who ſhall be offended thereat) that he is and ſhall be accurſed of the Gods, and hated of men; who will turn a good fame to an infamy, Juſtice into Wrong, Rule into Tyrannie, Truth into Lyes, certainties into things doubtful, and deſtroy his own happineſs, by depriving other men of their contentment. You* Romans *are naturally proud, and your pride blinds you, or elſe you would perceive, that being Lords of great* Provinces, *you are ſlaves to your own* Riches; *and that they both deprive you of your honour, contentment and reſt. Hearken to what I ſhall ſay, and I beſeech the Gods to make you ſo underſtand it, that I loſe not my labour. I hear all the world exclaim againſt* Pride, *and yet none embrace* Humility; *every man condemns* Adultery, *yet I ſee few who live* Chaſtly; *moſt men curſe* Exceſs, *yet I perceive not any who is* Temprate; *all men praiſe* Patience, *yet none will* patiently *ſuffer*; *They blame* ſloth, *yet ſpend their time in* idleneſs; *All exclaim againſt* Avarice, *nevertheleſs every one robbeth his neighbour*; *and I ſpeak it here openly in the* Senate, *not without grief, every mans tongue extolleth* Vertue, *yet they enſlave all their members to* Vice; *and this I object not againſt thoſe* Romans *which are in* Iliria *alone, but againſt thoſe alſo which I ſee here in this* Senate. *In your* Houſes, *and about your* Arms, *you have this* Motto, Romanorum eſt debellare ſuperbos, & parcere ſubjectis; *but, you might more truly have written,* Romanorum eſt ſpoliare Innocentes, & reddere ſubjectos.

What juſt occaſion brought you from the banks of Tiber, *to invade us who lived peaceably nigh the River of* Danuby? *Were we friends to your foes, or enemies to you? Did we go to conquer other Countries, or were diſobedient*

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to our own Lords ? Did we either deſpiſe your friendſhip, or defy you as Adverſaries ? Did any of our deceaſed Princes *bequeath our Lands unto you as their heirs, thereby entituling you to a rightful claiming us for your ſubjects ? Have we deſtroyed your Armies, waſted your Fields, ſpoyled your People, or done any outrage or injury, which might provoke you to revenge ? Of a truth, none of theſe, or of any ſuch occurences have happened, as uſually give occaſion of controverſies betwixt neighbours ; but meer* Covetouſneſs *and* Ambition *were ſole cauſes of your intruſions : For, in* Germany, *we felt your Tyrannie, as ſoon as we heard of your Fame. If you be offended with what I have ſaid ; be pleaſed with what I will ſay ; which is this, that the Name of* Romans, *and the Cruelties of* Tyrants, *arrived together in one day upon our People. They who have* much, *do oppreſs them who have* little ; Covetouſneſs *produceth* Malice, *and* Malice *makes way to open* Robbery. *I conjure you* Romans, *by the immortal Gods, to heed what I* ſay, *and conſider what you have* done : *For either the words of the Gods are not true, or elſe men with their oppreſſions, and the world, muſt come to an end :* Fortune *muſt fix a Pin in her* wheel, *or elſe that which you have gotten in eight years, will poſſibly be loſt in eight dayes ; ſince nothing is more juſt, then that the Gods ſhould make you* ſlaves, *who have made your ſelves* Tyrants. *Do not think, though you have ſubdued* Germany, *and are* Lords *thereof, that it was by your warlike proweſs : For, you are no more warlike, nor more couragious, nor more able to endure hardſhip, then we* Germans : *But, we, as is aforeſaid, provoked the Gods to wrath, and they to puniſh our ſins, have ordained that you ſhould be a ſcourge to our* perſons. *You are not ſo ſtrong, nor we ſo weak, that you had enjoyed the ſpoyl of our Country, if the Gods had favoured us as much as they*

did you : Therefore you obtained not the Victories by the weapons *which you brought from* Rome, *but by the* Vices *you found in* Germany : *We were not over-run for being* cowards, *but for being* wicked ; *and when your Vices are at full, and the Gods as angry with you, as they are now with us, things will ſucceed better on our behalf. Think not to be the more proſperous or victorious by your great* Armies *or vaſt* Treaſures, *or for that you have more* potent Gods *to aſsiſt you, or becauſe you build greater* Temples, *or offer larger* Sacrifices : *For know, if you know it not, that none are more favoured of the Gods, then they who execute* Juſtice *and ſhew* Mercy. *The triumphs of* Conquerours *are not atchieved by politick* Generals, *experienced* Captains, *valiant* Souldiers, *and* numerous Armies : *For we have found by experience, that with all theſe concurring, they can but begin a* battle, *and that then, the Gods themſelves diſpoſe of the* Victory : *And if I am not deceived, the wrath of the Gods towards us, is ſo much appeaſed ſince our* ſufferings, *and ſo incenſed againſt you for your* cruelties to us, *and your* unthankfulneſs to them ; *that, you who now eſteem us to be your* ſlaves, *may poſsibly hereafter acknowledge us to be your* Lords.

In my travails hither, I have ſeen high Mountains, large Provinces, ſeveral Nations, and barbarous People ; and finding Rome *to be ſo many miles diſtant from* Germany, *I wonder what fond toy came into your heads, to ſend to conquer it. If it were for deſire of Treaſure, I believe, ye ſpent more in ſubduing it, then the Revenue of all our Country will amount to in many years, and yet may perhaps alſo loſe it, before you re-imburſe what it coſt. If it were glory, that you aimed at, great is your vanity ; for, little honour is it to have Forts and Towns, where you have not the hearts of the People. If you did it to enlarge*

your

your bounds; it became neither wise nor valiant men, to enlarge their dominions, and diminish their honour. If you say, it was done, that we should not be barbarous, but civilized according to your mode, I should be therewith well contented: But, how can you give good Laws to strangers, who neglect and break the best Laws made by your own Predecessors? With what credit can they correct others, who deserve as much correction? How can the blind lead the Lame? Why should the prond Romans subdue the innocent Germans? And since every man is so corrupt, and so alienated from the love of God and Goodness, that each taketh what he can, and killeth whom he listeth, what remedy is like to succeed, when neither they who govern will endeavour it, nor they who are oppressed dare complain? Rulers are so hard to be entreated, and so little regard poor mens grievances, that it is not more grievous to endure their oppressions at home, then to come and exhibit their complaints here; because, in their own Country, they have but one Persecutor, and in this place very many; they being rich, and the Complainants poor. Rome, if she be the Mistress of Germany, ought in equity to preserve us in peace by her Justice; whereas they who go from hence thither, despoyl us of our estates there, and they who are here, rob us of our Good name, saying, we are a People without laws, without Reason, without a King, and may as Barbarians be made your slaves: But, in these slanders you are injurious, since we being as we are, and as the Gods created us, remain peaceably in our own Countries, without desiring to invade others, might more justly and rationally say, that you are men without Law or Reason, in that not being contented with the sweetness and fertility of Italy, you seek to conquer all the world by bloodshed. If you say, we deserve to be slaves, because we have no Prince to command us, nor Senate to govern

us,

us, nor Army *to defend us; I thereto answer, that having no* Enemies, *we need no* Armies; *that, being contented with our* Lots, *we wanted not a proud* Senate *to govern us; and being all equals, had no necessity to be subjected to the humours of a* Prince, *whose office duly executed, being to suppress Tyrants, and maintain the People in Peace, we wanted not a person to be kept among us to either of these ends; and, if you therefore say, we have in our Country no* Common-wealth *nor* Politie, *but live as brute beasts in the Mountains; therein also you slander us: For, in our Country, we suffer no* Liers, *nor* Rebels, *nor* Thieves, *nor* seditious persons, *nor men who bring us fantastical apparrel, or strange Customs from other* Clymates: *But, are modest in our* Rayment, *temperate in our meats and feeding, and needed no better* behaviour *then our own. Though we have not the Merchandizes of* Carthage, *nor Oyls of* Mauritania, *nor wares of* Tire, *nor steel of* Calabria, *nor Odours of* Asia, *nor the Gold of* Spain, *nor the silver of Britan, Amber of* Sydonia, *silk of* Damascus, *corn of* Sicilia, *wine of* Candy, *or purple of* Arabia: *Yet, we have a* Common-wealth, *and are not brutish: For, these, and such like things, yield more provocations to* vice, *then helps toward a* vertuous life. *Blessed is that* Common-wealth *and* Nation, *not where rickes abound, but where* Vertues *are commanded, practised, and improved; not where light, proud, and froward persons inhabit and domineer, but where sober, serious, prudent, and meek men reside; and therefore you may have cause to envy our Poverty, and we to pity your condition in being Rich. Would God, you were as well contented with your wealth, as we could have been with our Poverty before your invasions; for then you had not robbed our Country, nor had we been forced hither to complain, where our tears and complaints are not so much regarded, as to effect a diminish-*

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ment either of your pleaſures, or of our grievances.

You may think perhaps, I have no more to ſay; but it is not ſo; there yet remains that to be ſpoken, which may aſtoniſh you; and I will not be afraid to ſpeak it, though you have not been aſhamed to do it; for, open offences, merit not ſecret reproofs. I marvail, Romans, *what ye mean, to ſend over unto us ſuch ignorant* Governours, *who (I ſwear by the immortal Gods) neither ſeem to know your Laws, nor to underſtand ours! Ye ſend not thoſe who are beſt able to defend us by executing* Juſtice, *but, thoſe who are beſt befriended in* Rome; *as perhaps, you give to thoſe of the* Senate *the office of* Cenſors, *more for favour or importunity, then for deſert. I can ſay little here, in reſpect of what they do with us. What you authorize them to do, I know not, but what they do, is too well known unto me. All bribes that are brought unto them, they take openly, and ſhare and poll us all in ſecret, to the utmoſt of their power. They puniſh the faults of* poor men, *and connive at* rich mens *tranſgreſſions, that they may take occaſion and encouragement to commit greater; and whereas they ſhould uſe means to diminiſh reproach and ſlanders, they encreaſe them. To demand Juſtice without a bribe, is the certain courſe not to obtain it. Will your Tyrannie and Avarice never have an end? Though you wrong us in words, oppreſs us not alſo in deeds. Our bodies are able to bear thoſe irons with which you load us; but the Tributes and Taxes which you impoſe, are greater then we can ſuſtain. If nothing will content you, but all that we have in* Germany, *go thither and take it, for we affect not, as you do, to live poorly, that we may die rich, and to deprive our ſelves of contentment during life, that others may ſquander away our ſuperfluities when we are dead. If our ſervice content you not, ſtrike off our heads: for your ſwords are not ſo dreadful to our eyes, as your*

tyrannies are abominable to our hearts. Do ye know, Oh Romans, *what you have done? if not, I will tell you: Verily, you have cauſed many of us to ſwear, that we will forbear to cohabit with our wives, and ſlay our children as ſoon as born, rather then leave them in the hands of ſuch wicked and inhumane Tyrants as ye are: Yea, we determine as deſperate men, to reſiſt the natural motions of the fleſh all our life time, rather then get our wives with child: thinking it better to reſtrain our luſting twenty or thirty years, then to leave our poſterity to be your perpetual ſlaves. But, to what end is this complaining? Perhaps you will ſometimes hear us, as now you hear me; but when you have heard us, you will be ſtill ſlow in relieving. I will tell you ſome of thoſe things which I have obſerved, that you may reform them. If a poor man come to complain and demand Juſtice, if he hath no money to give, nor Wine or Oyl to promiſe, nor a Revenue to maintain his expences, nor Friends to mediate for him; then after he hath declared his grievances; you, for awhile, give him fair words, ſeem to pity his ſufferings, and promiſe him ſpeedy relief. But in the mean time make him totally ſpend that little which he had, and waſt the beſt part of his life in vain hopes and tedious proſecutions, without any effect at all to his profit: Yea, on the contrary, they who at firſt promiſed him favours, do at laſt joyn hands with his oppreſſors, and quite undo him. Moſt ſay in the beginning, his cauſe is good, yet though upon his tryal they find it ſo proved, they give ſentence againſt him at the laſt; ſo that he who came at firſt hither to complain againſt one, returns home complaining againſt many, yea againſt all, and crying out to the immortal Gods for vengeance.*

I will declare unto you my life, Oh Romans, *that ye may underſtand, how we now live and ſubſiſt in my Country: I get my livelihood by gathering Acorns in the Winter,*

Winter, by Fruits in the Summer, and reaping Corn: Sometimes I fish, both for pleasure, and to supply necessaries, spending most part of my time alone in Woods, Fields and Mountains, because I would not behold the outrages which are perpetrated by your Officers *in our Country; whose oppressions, if I could fully declare them, would appear so many and so hainous, that either they would be deprived of their* Employments, *or my punishment would certainly ensue. But what good success can I hope for? When I consider the things which I have seen within these fifteen dayes now passed away since my arrival in* Rome; *where such things have been committed, that if they had been done in* Germany, *the Gallows and Gibbets had worthily hung as thick with malefactors, as Vines with clusters of Grapes? For, I have observed, (beside other things observable) such immodesty in* apparrel, *such intemperance in your feeding, and such disorder in your lives and affairs, that having beheld as much as I desired: and my heart being at rest, by spitting out that poyson which was in it, I am ready to make recompence for it with my head, if I have offended,* &c.

This, and somewhat more, which for brevity sake I omitted, was spoken in this bold manner, by a person as contemptible as this *Remonstrant* (to a greater and a more absolute Power then we live under) on the behalf of himself and Country-men, who were thereby oppressed, and, who, though reputed the greatest Tyrants of the world, were not so Tyrannous, as to be enraged by his upbraidings & bold expressions, whom oppression had exasperated: For, we find it attested by that famous *Emperour*, who occasionally related this Speech, that it was highly approved, both by the whole *Senate* and by him, as well becoming the Speaker, in such a case; yea, notwithstanding the tartness thereof. His testimoniall

after he had ſaid much in praiſe of this Oration, to thoſe unto whom he declared it, was delivered in words to this effect: *By the faith of a good man* (ſaid he) *I ſaw this* German *ſtand boldly on his feet, and undiſmayed a whole hour, whileſt all we in the Senate ſate beholding the earth with ſhame, not able to anſwer him one word; becauſe indeed he had aſtoniſhed us, to ſee the little regard he had of his life. But, the Senate agreed altogether,* (ſaid he) *the next day to ſend new Governours and Judges into* Germany; *commanded him to deliver unto us in writing all that he had ſaid, to be regiſtred among the good ſayings of ſtrangers; made him a Free-man of* Rome; *choſe him to be a Senator, and appointed him a maintenance out of the common Treaſury.* By this, it appears, that there is a way, whereby a prudent *Senate*, or *Supream Authority*, may advance their honour, if they pleaſe, by hearing with patience and good acceptation, thoſe bold and free ſpeakings, tending to the execution of Juſtice, which Fools miſ-interpret as ſcandalous, and tending to their diſhonour or diſadvantage. And the *Remonſtrant* hath made uſe of theſe *Ethnick* precedents and teſtimonies, that they who profeſs *Chriſtianity*, may be the more aſhamed, to hear that *Heathens* and meer natural men ſhould ſurpaſs them in generouſneſs, in zeal to Juſtice, and in compaſſionately permitting grieved Supplicants boldly, plainly and openly, to ſignifie their grievances, and particularize their *Oppreſſors*, if need be, not only without blame, but alſo, with Approbation, Remedy and Reward.

Here, this *Remonſtrant*, purpoſed to conclude: But, as many times, he knows neither when he ſhall begin to write, nor what he ſhall write untill he hath *begun*: So, he knows not ſometimes when he ſhall make an *end*, untill

till he hath *done*. Whileſt he was tranſcribing what is laſt added, *Providence* offered to his view an *Epiſtle* written by *Marcus Aurelius*, then Cenſor, to his friend *Catullus*, concerning the *news* which was at that time in *Rome*: Which comprehendeth ſo many particulars pertinent to our conſideration at this preſent, & which have ſuch reſemblances to occurrences in this our generation, that he could not omit it: Therefore, it is here epitomized in theſe words, preſerving the true genuine ſenſe of that *Epiſtle*.

Marcus *the new* Cenſor, *to* Catullus *now aged, ſendeth greeting. Ten dayes paſt I received thy Letter in the Temple of* Janus, *whom I take to witneſs, that I had rather have ſeen thy perſon. Thou deſireſt my Letters may be long, but ſhortneſs of time, compells me to make them ſhorter then I would. To anſwer thy expectation of knowing what news is now here, I ſhall not be ſo able as I could have been, if thou hadſt deſired to be informed, Whether any thing that was good and old, is yet remaining here amongſt us in* Rome *or* Italy: *For, by our evil deſtiny, all that was* good and old *is ended, and* new things *which are evil, do now begin to abound. The* Emperour, *the* Conſuls, *the* Tribunes, *the* Senators, *the* Ædiles, *the* Flamins, *the* Prætors, *the* Centurions, *and almoſt all things are new ſave the* Vertues, *which are grown obſolet. We paſs the time in making new* Officers, *in deviſing new* Projects *and* Counſels, *in raiſing new* Taxes, *with ſuch like; and there have been more* novelties *within four years, then in four hundred heretofore. We now aſſemble three hundred to counſel in the* Capitol, *and there we brag and boaſt, ſwear and promiſe, that we will extoll the* Vertuous, *ſubdue the* Vitious, *favour the* Right, *not wink at* wrongs, *puniſh the* evil, *reward the* good, *repair the* old, *edifie* new, *pluck* Vices *up by the roots, plant* Vertues,

follow that which is good, *reprove* Tyrants, *and relieve the poor and oppreſſed : But, when we are gone from thence, they who ſpeak the beſt words, commit the worſt deeds. The* Senators *paſs away their time in ſaying,* We will do, We will do ; *but, every man ſeeks his own profit, and forgets both private mens injuries, and the* Weal-Publick. *I often hear in the* Senate, *much eloquence in words, fair ſhews of zeal to* Juſtice, *and much ſpoken by many in juſtification of themſelves ; and when I come abroad, am aſhamed to ſee their evil works, with their cruel extortions, and find it to be very frequent for them who commit the greateſt crimes, to be moſt ſevere in giving ſentence againſt others for the ſame offences. We behold our own faults in mirrours which make them ſeem leſs, and other mens in multiplying-glaſſes, making them appear greater. Oh ! how many have I ſeen condemned by the* Senate *for one fault committed but once in all their life-time, when they themſelves commit the ſame fault, or worſe, every hour ! I read, that in the time of* Alexander *the great, there was a famous* Pirate *called* Dionides, *who robbing all Ships he could meet withall,* Alexander *ſet forth a great Navy to apprehend him, which having taken him, and preſented him to* Alexander, *that King ſaid unto him,* Why *Dionides,* doſt thou ſpoyl ſo on the Seas, that no Ship can ſale in ſafety for thee ? *The* Pirate *anſwered,* If I ſpoyl by Sea, why doſt thou ſpoyl both by Sea and Land ? Oh *Alexander,* becauſe I fight with one ſingle Ship at Sea, I am called a *Pirate,* and becauſe thou robbeſt with two hundred Ships at Sea, and troubleſt all the world with two hundred thouſand men by Land, thou art called an *Emperour.* I ſwear unto thee *Alexander,* if the Gods were ſo favourable to me, as they are to thee, and ſo adverſe to thee, as now they are to me, and would give me thine Empire, and beſtow on thee

thee my little Ship, peradventure I ſhould be a better *Emperour* then thou art, and thou wouldſt be a worſe *Pirate* then I. *This bold ſpeech pleaſed* Alexander *ſo well, that he made him General of a great Army; and he became more vertuous by Land, then he was vicious by Sea. Now, in* Italy, *they who rob openly, are called* LORDS, *and they who rob privately, are called Thieves.*

I read in the Annals *of* Livy, *that there came an Embaſſador from* Spain *to* Rome, *to treat of a Peace with the* Romans, *which Embaſſador proved before the* Senate, *that he had been robbed ten times of his goods, whileſt he was at* Rome, *and that he had ſeen one of thoſe who robbed him, hang another who defended him; and that ſeeing ſo wicked a deed, he took a coal, and wrote upon the Gibbet theſe words.* Oh Gibbet, thou art planted among thieves, art made by thieves, and hanged full of innocents. *The whole hiſtory wherein theſe words are found, was written with black ink, and theſe words in Vermilion Letters.*

I cannot tell what other news to ſend thee; but every thing here is ſo new and tender, and joyned with ſuch ill Cement, that I fear all will ſhortly fall ſuddenly in pieces. Some, are ſo haſtily and ſo highly prowoted, that I dare aſſure thee rather of their Fall, then of their lives and firm ſtanding. We have already ſeen many, at whoſe riſing we wondered, and as much marvelled at their ſudden fall. We have ſeen Cincius Fulvius, *in one year made* Conſul, *his children* Tribunes, *his wife* Matron *to the* Virgins, *as alſo Keepreſs of the* Capitol, *and after that, not in one year, but the ſame day, ſaw* Cincius *beheaded in the place, his children drowned in* Tiber, *his wife baniſhed, his houſe raſed to the ground, and all his goods confiſcate to the Common Treaſury; and this rigorous example we*

have

have not read of in a Book, but ſeen with our eyes, that we might the better mind it. Sith I have begun, and thou art in a ſtrange Country, I will write all the news which is here. This year, the 25. of May, *an Embaſſador came out of* Aſia, *who conſidering it would be dangerous ſayling home in Winter; and ſeeing after long ſtay his buſineſs was not diſpatched, (being a man of a good courage, and zealous of his Countries affairs) coming one day to the* Senate, *and ſeeing the* Senators *enter the* Capitol *unarmed, as the cuſtom is, laying aſide their* Arms, *he ſpake thus, in preſence of all the* Senators. *FATHERS CONSCRIPT*, I am come to *Rome* from a far Country, & have found *Rome* without *Rome*. The fame of the place brought me not hither, but the renown of them who govern it. I came not to ſee that *Exchequer* wherein the wealth of all Realms is treaſured up, but the *Sacred Senate*, out of which ſhould iſſue counſel for all men: I came not to ſee you, becauſe you were Conquerors of other Nations, but, becauſe I thought you were more vertuous then all other. But, I dare ſay, except the Gods have made me blind, or taken away my underſtanding, either you are not *Romans* of *Rome*, or this is not *Rome* of the *Romans* your predeceſſors. We have heard that the Kingdoms conquered by their valour, were conſerved by the wiſdom of this *Senate*; but methinks you are more likely to loſe, then to keep what your Fathers got; For their exerciſe was in realities, and you conſume your time in complements and vain ceremonies: I have almoſt killed my ſelf with laughing at you, to ſee with what punctualities you leave off thoſe Arms at the *Senate* gate, with which your Anceſtors defended the Empire. What profit is it to your Suppliants, that you lay off thoſe Arms which may hurt one, and put on thoſe which deſtroy

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all the world? What avails it us, that you enter the Senate without ſword or dagger, whileſt you are armed with malice in your hearts? Know, ye Romans, we dread you not, as *armed Captains*, but, as *malitious Senators*; we fear not your *ſwords and daggers*, but *your hearts and tongues*. It were leſs injury, if going armed into the *Senate*, you took away our lives, then to ſuffer Innocents to be deſtroyed, by not diſpatching their affairs. I neither underſtand what ye intend, nor can ſuffer with patience what I ſee you do. In my Country we diſarm Fools; Now, whether your Arms be taken from you as *Fools or Mad-men*, I know not: If it be done becauſe ye are Fools; ſurely it is not the Law of the Gods, that three hundred Fools ſhould govern three hundred thouſand wiſe men. I have tarried here for my anſwer a long ſeaſon, and by your delayes, I am further from a diſpatch, then I was the firſt day. We bring you hither, Hony, Oyl, Saffron, Wood, Salt, Silver, and you ſend us away to ſeek Juſtice elſewhere. You have one Law whereby to gather your Tributes, and another whereby to determine Juſtice: For, we muſt pay our Tributes in one day, but you will not diſcharge our Arrands in a whole year. Either take away our lives, that our buſineſſes may have an end, or hear our complaints, that we may live to ſerve you. If you think my words extravagant, and find them offenſive, ſo you will do Juſtice to my Country, take my life, and ſo I make an end.

Theſe were his words, Catullus, *which I got in writing, and may now ſay, that the ſame boldneſs and high ſpirit, which* Romans *exerciſed heretofore in other Countries,* Strangers *now dare to expreſs in* Rome. *For this Speech ſome would have had him puniſhed; but God forbid that any man ſhould ſuffer for ſaying Truth in my preſence;*

seeing that is more then enough which men suffer, though we then persecute them not, when they boldly inform us of their grievances. The sheep cannot be preserved from wolves, if the Shepherds dogs bark not; and there is no Law of Gods or mans which awardeth punishment for Liars, *that will permit any one should be punished for speaking Truth: Yet now, men are chastised more for murmuring against one* Senator, *then for blaspheming all the* Gods *at once. We need not seek to the* Gods *in our* Temples: *For, the* Senators *take upon them to be* Gods; *but there is great difference betwixt them: For, the* Gods *do nothing that is evil, and the* Senators *nothing that is good: The* Gods *never lie, and the* Senators *never speak truth: The* Gods *pardon often, and they never forgive: The* Gods *are content to be honoured five times in a year, and the* Senators *would be honoured ten times in a day: The* Gods *are constant in every thing, and fail in nothing, the* Senators *are stedfast in nothing, and fail in all things; and when they intend not to amend their faults, they cannot endure their* Suppliants *should inform them of the Truth. But, be it as it may be; this I am sure of, that it is impossible for them to be just, or sincerely to apply themselves to any vertue, who withdraw their ears from listning to the* Truth: *And no mortal man, be he* Orator, *or* Consul, *or* Censor, *or* Emperour, *how well soever he takes heed to his wayes, and orders his desires, but he shall otherwhile have need of some Reproof and Counsel.*

Now I have written concerning others, I will inform thee of somewhat concerning my self, because thou desirest it. Know that in the Kalends of January, *I was made* Censor *in the* Senate, *which I neither desired nor deserve. No wise man will spontaneously take upon himself the burthen and charge of looking to other mens affairs; for it is an hard task to please every man in such an office; and he*

he who undertakes it, must often make shew in countenance, of that which is not in his heart. Good men only ought to be put into office, and in the eighth Table of our antient Laws, it is enjoyned, That charge of Justice be never given to him who seeks or desires it, but that men be chosen to such places with great deliberation, because few men are so vertuous and loving to their Country, as to take offices upon themselves, so much for the benefit of other men, as for their own utility. Unhappy is Rome, *if I be one of those who best deserveth such an office. I had no need of it, but accepted thereof to fulfill the command of* Antonius *my Grandfather, and to be obedient to the* Senate, *who had thereto elected me of their own accord,* &c.

This *Remonstrant* leaves it to your grave wisdoms, who are in *Authority*, and to all other prudent Readers, to make that *Use* and *Application* of these preceding *Fragments* of Antiquity, as they shall find cause; and to consider whether these be not *Exemplary Precedents*, which may excuse at least (if not justifie) those plain and free expressions, which both his *private necessities*, and the constitution of *Publick Affairs* do require at this present, in relation to the *Common Peace*, to the preservation of Publick *Honour*, and to *himself*. Howsoever, he will now conclude, adding only an *humble Prayer* to all you who are in *Power*, and one *reasonable request* to them, on whose behalf he was chiefly induced and emboldened, to draw up this *Pleading*. His *Prayer* to you in Authority, is, that by your mediation and endeavours in your several capacities, means may be prosecuted, whereby, to the honour of GOD, those *Covenants*, *Contracts* and *Securities*, made and granted by this *Nations Representative*, may be preserved without infringement, according to the Tenour of his *Divine Law*; That the Honour and Priviledges of the *Humane*

mane Nature, may be duely tendred, by acting according to the *Law of Reason*; and that the credit of the *English Nation* may be kept from being violated and disparaged, by making good what their elected *Representative* engaged to perform, either in *Specie*, or, by a *Recompence* nobly and generously vouchsafed; and not by that irrational way of *Discount*, which is by some proposed: For it is not only impossible, after so many years, and so many transactions, of which no memorials were kept, in expectation of a future *accompt*; but it will be very injurious also, unless the said *Purchasers* and *Lenders* may be allowed to demand and receive satisfaction upon *Account* and *Discount*, for all their losses, their hindrances by expences in time, and their suits, solicitations, and forbearances occasioned (without their default) by those engagements which necessitated them to be *Purchasers* or *Lenders*; as also, for all *improvements*, by them made at their proper cost, together with the charges of prosecuting a *Composition* before the *Commissioners* lately authorised to mediate the same; and for dammages sustained by Interest of money, and loss of the profits of those Lands, which are intruded upon, and left unoccupied the mean while. These particulars being omitted, it will be as unconscionable a *Proposition*, as it would be to *Merchant-Adventurers*, (who must ballance their losses at one time, with what they gain at another) to compell them to make sale of their *Wares*, brought home at their last Voyage, according to the Disbursments only at that *Return*, without any respect had, to what they lost formerly, or may possibly lose hereafter. Nay, it is far more unconscionable, in regard that whereas *Merchants* do usually gain sufficiently, at one time or other, to make them both savers and gainers, toward

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the advance of their estates, many of the said *Purchasers* and *Lenders*, have been by casualities, by having that which was due unto them detained many years, and otherwise by gross injustice, very great losers, (without their own default) in every Purchase, Loan and Contract, made to and with them, who were intrusted with *Publick Concernments*, and exercised the *Supream Power*, without contradiction; and whereto, being conscientiously obedient, they ought in equity to have their obedience rewarded, as it was said, their Piety and Charity should be, who administred to his necessities as a Disciple of *Christs*, who came in the name of his Disciple, though peradventure he was an *Impostor*. And it is more then probable, that many of the said *Purchasers* and *Lenders*, if they have gotten ought, or been savers by the said *Parliaments* Grants in one particular, have lost more then the whole Interest and Principal of their Disbursments in the rest of their Contracts, Expences and Debts, pretended to have been secured unto them by the said *Parliament*, as it hath happened unto this *Remonstrant* in his own particular.

His *single request*, before-mentioned, to his *Fellow-Purchasers* and *Lenders*, shall be but this, that, they would be more just and respective unto him, then some of them have been (as he hears) in their Censures passed upon this *Remonstrance*, when it was perused in private: For, though it were voluntarily by him composed, with as much regard unto their good, as unto his own oppressive sufferings, without putting them to any cost or pains, (though also, none or few of them had more just cause to complain; though he is more certain of the reality of his own oppressions, then of all theirs, and though the *Common Grievances* may

thereby be more illuſtrated, then by many of their *ſufferings.*) They, nevertheleſs, not conſidering (as mtually they do in their own caſes) that *Egomet mihi proximus*, do grudge this *Remonſtrant* the mentioning his *perſonal wrongs*; and (as if they who ſuffered moſt, had leaſt right to complain) miſconſter his inſiſting upon his own Oppreſſions, as not comely in their judgement, or elſe, as likely to make his Arguments the leſs effectual on their behalf; which want of Prudence, Juſtice and Charity, he cannot well approve of; and therefore deſires them to be more thankful to their friends, leſt they diſcourage every man from Apologizing for them, when they cannot, or dare not ſpeak for themſelves. Though this *Remonſtrant* intends well to all, he hath no ſuch ill meaning to *himſelf*, as in the proſecution of the *Common Intereſt*, ſottiſhly to neglect his own *well being*, when it is therewith involved. He might have inſerted much more in relation both to the *Publick Intereſt*, and to his *own*, but he confeſſeth he hath omitted in prudence, not a few Arguments of more ſtrength then any yet alleadged; becauſe, he knows they may at this time, be more miſchievous to him, then available to that *Cauſe* for which he pleadeth; and that it would have been rather madneſs then diſcretion, to produce them out of ſeaſon. That, which he hath offered to conſideration, is expreſſed with a good Conſcience toward *GOD*, his *Prince*, his *Countrey*, and to each individual perſon therein: and he deſires no otherwiſe to proſper in this world, then as he is an enemy to no mans perſon, whatſoever his *judgement* be, but only to his *Errours* and *Vices*; and as he unfeignedly deſires rather their *converſion*, then their impoveriſhment, ſhame and confuſion. He doth but hereby endeavour, (as he hath

hath often done heretofore) to discharge the Office of a *Remembrancer* to these Nations, & in barking like a true *English Mastive*, when he thinks his *Masters House* or *Flocks* are endangered by *Thieves* or *Wolves*; and therefore, though his *name* be herein already *Ænigmatically* inscribed, and was thought by him at first, to have been a sufficient *attestation* hereof: he doth now upon more deliberation, openly subscribe what he hath Remonstrated with this *name*

George Wither.

A BRIEF
Advertiſement,
Not unreaſonably hazzarded.

THis *Remonſtrant*, being deſirous that the Honour and well being both of the King and People, may be preſerved by a timely ſupply of all their neceſſities; and hearing ſince the concluſion of this *Remonſtrance*, that his Majeſtie hath preſent uſe of a very great ſumm of Money, an *Expedient*, came ſuddenly into thought, whereby in his judgement, he may not only be ſupplyed, but thereby prevent alſo a great miſchief which is already felt, and whereof we ſhall every day grow more and more ſenſible, by that diligence which is now practiſed to draw a conſiderable part of the Kingdoms Treaſure into private hands.

For, the *Eccleſiaſticks*, by being repoſſeſſed of about an hundred forty and two thouſand pounds *per annum*, (as this Remonſtraant is credibly informed) by *Impropriations*, now well near all out of Leaſe, beſides Parſonages and Vicaridges, with other vaſt Revenues lately ſo much

much improved, that their Annual worth is greatly enlarged, have already raiſed ſo many hundred thouſands of pounds by Fines and Rents, that it hath exhauſted the Treaſure of this Kingdom out of the Peoples purſes, into their ſecret *Hoords*; even ſo much, that there is not ſufficient for men to follow their Trades and Callings, pay Taxes, and ſuſtain their Families, without great penury: And the ſaid *Eccleſiaſticks*, (as it is famed alſo) are ſo ſuſpitious of the *Securities* of theſe Times, and (perhaps, juſtly ſo fearful leſt the *King* and his *Council*, or the *King* and the next *Parliament*, may take their *Uſeleſneſs*, *Avarice* and *Ambition*, into ſuch ſerious conſideration) that, to provide for what may poſſibly ſucceed, they will either hide their money in the earth, where much of it may be quite loſt; or elſe keep it ſo cloſe, that little of it will be employed, for Advance of Traffick & Negotiations betwixt man and man, & *Trade* thereby obſtructed, much more then at preſent; eſpecially, by that time they have fleeced every ſheep within their *Juriſdictions*. Therefore, the *King* and his *Council*, (upon a view taken of what they have received) may if they need it for Publick-uſes, get ſpeedy ſupply of money, (as legally as they repoſſeſs thoſe Lands) by requiring a *Benevolence* from all the *Prelates*, now enriched to exceſs, meerly by

the Kings Favour; and who, being (for the moſt part) old men, with one foot and a half in the Grave (and ſome of them childleſs) ſhall not only have more left then is neceſſary; yea, much more (though nothing be left them but their yearly Rents) then either their *Predeceſſors* had, or then they will deſerve, as now they are conſtituted: But, by this means alſo, much money which is, or which probably would elſe be Hoorded up, to the Publick damnage, will be diſperſed to the advance of *Trading*, and to the employing of many thouſands, who now want bread for their Families, becauſe there is not wherewith to ſet them on work: Or elſe, (which will be a far better *Expedient*, if the King were ſo pleaſed) he may be ſupplyed more to his honour, by the Purchaſers of the ſaid *Prelates* Lands, if by his favour they were thereto enabled, as they might juſtly be: For, this *Remonſtrant* is perſwaded, if they might have their *Bargains* and *Sales* confirmed by Parliament, with his Royal aſſent, they would contribute a more bountiful ſupply then the *Prelates*; and would be Poſſeſſors and Occupiers of thoſe eſtates for the future, more to the glory of God, more for his, with the Publick honour and welfare, and more for the lawful benefit and advantage of private Perſons: And, this *Remonſtrant* cannot forbear openly to profeſs, that he thinks

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in his conſcience, the *Prelates* are neither conſiſtent with an Orthodox *Chriſtian Diſcipline*, nor with the lawful Intereſts of *King* or *People*: And, that he wonders at the madneſs of this Generation, ſeeing ſo many thouſands within their knowledge undone by truſting to the Bargains, Sales and Securities of their *Parliaments*, which were thought the beſt *Security* in the world; that, they will now adventure their money upon ſo ſlender a ſecurity, as the hand and ſeal only, of old doting men, who are Tenants but for life, (perhaps, but during pleaſure) without a *general warranty*, by ſome good Collateral Security. But, let thoſe adventrous Contractors do as they pleaſe; The *Remonſtrant* having played the Fool himſelf in truſting to ſuch *Securities*, hath no reaſon to grudge other men the liberty to buy wit with their own money; and though in charity, he would prevent their dammage, yet, knowing he ſhall never be able to make ſuch men wiſer by examples or counſel, until they have as well paid for it as he hath done, he will ſcrible no more to that purpoſe; but conclude all with this prayer, GOD BLESS THE KING and PEOPLE, and encline thoſe who can better vindicate the *Publick Faith* of this *Nation*, to contribute their endeavours in due ſeaſon.

FINIS.

THough this *Authors* writings have been contemned, and diſgracefully termed *Scriblings* by ſome; yet, becauſe by them the conſtitution of the Generation wherin he liveth, may be partly known; very many have importuned him, to publiſh a *Catalogue* of thoſe *Poems* and *Diſcourſes* which have been heretofore by him compoſed and imprinted, together with thoſe which are not yet publiſhed; that, they who are deſirous to collect them for their private uſe, may know by what names to enquire for them. Therefore to fulfill their deſire, the ſaid *Author* hath here ſet down the *Titles* of ſo many of them as he remembers at this time, (not in order as they were written, but as they came to mind) whereby, if any of thoſe Manuſcripts which were loſt when his houſe was plundred, or by other caſualities, ſhall be brought again to his hand, he will be very thankful to the bringer, and give him a Copy thereof, if he deſire it, or what other ſatisfaction he ſhall reaſonably demand.

Thoſe Books which were compoſed in his minority, and may therefore be called his *Juvenilia*, are theſe.

1. Iter Hibernicum, *or, His Iriſh Voyage.* Verſe.
2. Iter Boreale, *a Northern Journey.* ver.
3. Patricks *Purgatory.* ver.
4. Philaretes *complaint.* ver.

Theſe four laſt mentioned were loſt in Manuſcript.

5. *Fidelia.* ver.
6. *Eglogs.* ver.
7. *An Epithalamium.*
8. *A Funeral Elegie on* P. H.
9. *Abuſes ſtript and whipt*; two Books.
10. *The Shepherds Hunting.*

11. *The*

11. *The Shepherds Pipe*, compoſed joyntly by him and Mr. *W. Brown.*
12. *The Scourge.*
13. *The Miſtreſs of* Philarete.

Theſe Books following were compoſed when he was of riper years.

14. *Withers Motto*, (videl.) Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo.
15. *An Apology to the Lords of the Council, in juſtification of the Reproof of Vices in his* Poems.
16. *A Satyre to the King.*
17. *A Treatiſe of antient Hieroglyphicks, with their various ſignifications*; a Manuſcr. loſt.
18. *Emblems, in* folio.
19. *A preparation to the Pſalter, in* folio.
20. *Exerciſes on the firſt* Pſalm, *in* proſe and ver.
21. *Exerciſes on the nine* Pſalms *next following*, in pro. and ver. all loſt.
22. *A metricall Tranſlation of* Davids *Pſalms.*
23. *A tranſlation of* Nemeſius, *De natura hominis.* pro.
24. *A metricall tranſlation of the Canonical Hymns and Songs.*
25. *Three Books, of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, for ſeveral occaſions.*
26. *The Scholars Purgatory.* pro.
27. *The purſuit of Happineſs, being a character of the extravagancy of the Authors Affections and Paſſions in his youth.* proſe, not Printed.
28. *Riddles, Songs and Epigrams*; not Printed.
29. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Plantations of* Ulſter *in* Ireland, *with preconjectures of what conſequents would probably enſue.* pro.
30. *The Dutcheſs.* ver. not Printed.
31. *Domeſtick Devotions.* pro. not Printed.

32. *Another Funeral Elegie*: not Printed.
33. *A Tract of* Usury, *wherein, that Lending for increase, which is forbidden in Scripture, is distinguished from that which is lawful*: not Printed.
34. *Meditations upon the X. Commandments, with Sculptures.* ver.
35. *Familiar Epistles.* prose, lost.
36. *The Authors confession of his Faith, both in Fundamentals, and in relation to most points controverted by men of several judgements in Religion*: not Printed.
37. *A precatory Meditation and Soliloquy with God, on the behalf of his children and their posterity, if they have any*: not Printed.
38. *A Discourse to a Friend, touching the consolations in close imprisonment*: not Printed.
39. *Britains Remembrancer.*

These that follow, were written since the beginning of the Long Parliament.

40. *Camponusa.* ver.
41. *Vox pacifica.* ver.
42. *Vaticinium poeticum.* ver.
43. *Caveat Emptor.* pro.
44. *Se defendendo.* pro.
45. *Justiciarius Justificatus.* pro.
46. *Letter of Advice touching chusing Members of Parliament.* pro.
47. *Mercurius Rusticus.* pro.
48. *Britains Genius.*
49. *A Petition and Narrative to the Parliament.* pro.
50. *Opobalsamum Anglicanum.* ver.
51. *Carmen Expostulatorum.* ver.
52. *A single Si quis.* ver.
53. *Carmen Ternarium Semicynicum.* ver

54. *A*

54. *A thankful Retribution.* ver.
55. *The tired Petitioner.* ver.
56. *What Peace to the Wicked?* ver.
57. *The Speech without door.* pro.
58. Withers *Disclaimer.* pro.
59. *The Dark Lantern and perpetual Parliament.* ver.
60. *Boni Ominis Votum.* ver.
61. *Know thy self.* ver.
62. *The true state of the Cause betwixt the King and Parliament.* pro. mis-laid or lost.
63. *The Delinquents purgation.* pro.
64. *West-row revived.* ver.
65. *The sinners Confession.* ver.
66. *A Cordial Confection,* &c. pro.
67. *Verses to the individual Members of Parliament.*
68. *Epistolium Vagum prosa metrisum.*
69. *Furor poeticus.* ver.
70. *A suddain Flash.* ver.
71. *Salt upon Salt.* ver.
72. Amigdala Britannica, *or, Almonds for Parrets.* ver.
73. *The British Appeal.* ver.
74. *Three Grains of Frankincense.* ver.
75. *The Protector.* ver.
76. Carmen Eucharisticon, *or a private Oblation,* &c. ver.
77. Speculum Speculativum, *or a Considering-glass.* ver.
78. Fides Anglicana, *or a Plea for the Publick Faith of these Nations.*
79. *A* Declaration *in the person of* Oliver Cromwell, *given into his own hand, and tending to the settling of such a* Government *as he never intended.* pro.
80. *A* Private Address *to the said* Oliver, *in* prose *and* verse, *offering things pertinent to his consideration, into his hand sealed up.*
81. *Another Address for the third day of* Sept. 1658. *given to his own hands likewise.* 82. *Ano-*

82. *Another* Addreſs *given to* R. Cromwells *own hands. Neither of theſe four laſt-mentioned were imprinted; for they were private Remembrances both of their duties and failings; with forewarnings of what is ſince come to paſs.*

Theſe and ſome other *ſcriblings*, whoſe *Titles* this *Author* cannot now remember, are here ſet down, not for oſtentation, but to ſatisfie the requeſts of his Friends. By theſe it may appear, how (for about 52. years together) he hath employed himſelf, and that though he be none of the wiſeſt, and hath failed in many other things, he hath been alwayes well affected to his Country; and ſo deſirous to be ſerviceable to his generation, that perhaps he hath not merited to be thereby totally deſtroyed, though to God he hath been an unprofitable ſervant. Be it conſidered that ſome of theſe *Books* were compoſed in his unripe age; ſome, when wiſer men then he erred; and that in regard there is in all of them, ſomewhat ſavouring of a natural ſpirit, and ſomewhat dictated by a better ſpirit then his own, it will concern every man to try the ſpirits, and to adhere to that only which is agreeable to the *Touch ſtone of Truth*, which is left us by the *Father of Spirits*; to be the *Teſt* of all mens writings.